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Karl Gustav Izikowitz
Director

CONTRIBUTIONS TO CUNA ETHNOGRAPHY

RESULTS OF AN EXPEDITION TO
PANAMA AND COLOMBIA IN 1947

BY

HENRY WASSÉN



WITH 44 FIGURES

GÖTEBORG

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ELANDERS BOKTRYCKERI AKTIEBOLAG
GOTHENBURG

To
the memory of my mother-in-law,
Mrs. Annie Bredelius,
Göteborg,
who followed our travels and efforts
with warm interest and kind
encouragement

H. W.

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ORTHOGRAPHIC NOTE

The transcription of Cuna words and names, etc., follows the principles explained in Holmer's *Critical and Comparative Grammar of the Cuna Language* (1949, pp. 5-19); instead of the double *rr* the single *r* is however used (as in Holmer's *Outline of a Cuna Grammar*, *International Journal of American Linguistics*, XII: 4, 1946, p. 186). Many common names have not been transcribed but are spelled according to the accepted practice among the Indians.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

From February to September 1947 the writer of these lines had the privilege of undertaking an expedition sponsored by the Ethnographical Museum, Gothenburg, of which the goal was chiefly Panama and Colombia and during which I was accompanied by my wife Karin and my friend Nils M. Holmer, a linguist, and at that time associate professor in the University of Upsala. The collaboration between Dr. Holmer and myself had started already earlier, established by our common interest in the investigation of various aspects of the Cuna culture, and at the time of our departure from Gothenburg, on February 8, 1947, this collaboration had just borne fruit in the publication of a joint work, *Mu-Igala or the Way of Muu, A Medicine Song from the Cunas of Panama*.

As a practical study *inter alius* of the Cuna language would be of great interest to Holmer, who had already proved in a brilliant way his theoretical knowledge of this language by the publication of a *Critical and Comparative Grammar of the Cuna Language*, it gave me great satisfaction to learn that he, too, would be able to accept the offer to accompany us on the journey, after successful applications for material support on his behalf from *The Viking Fund, Inc.* in New York and the *Sociedad Sueco-Hispano-Americana* in Gothenburg. The results of Holmer's linguistic investigations among the Cuna Indians will be published by him according to a more detailed account given in the preface to this work. I should like to mention, however, even at this moment, that he has placed his whole experience at disposal for such parts of this work as pertain to his particular branch of science, for which I am very grateful to him.

It was my friend, Hans Elliot, Swedish Consul General at Panama, who, on a visit to Gothenburg in September 1946, planted the seed of the research plan by inviting us to a free passage from Gothenburg to Panama on board a ship which was then being built in Sweden for the *Compañía Colombiana de Navegación Marítima*. Unfortunately, we could not avail ourselves of this opportunity, owing to the fact

that the completion of the ship was delayed, but I am still anxious to express my sincere thanks to Mr. Elliot and to his representative in the Elliot Line, at Panama, Consul C. A. Janson, for the efficient support they gave the expedition on several following occasions, both by offering traveling facilities and by showing personal hospitality.

The departure of the expedition was, however, to be accelerated in order not to jeopardize those leaves of absence which Holmer and myself had obtained from, respectively, the University of Upsala and the Gothenburg Ethnographical Museum — and it is my duty to take this opportunity to thank its Board of Trustees as well as my Director, Dr. K. G. Izikowitz, for this leave. The turn of events was due to the benevolent action taken by my friend, the late Major Herbert Jacobsson, chairman of the Board of Managers of the Broström Shipping Concern in Gothenburg. Through his charming generosity, all three of us were offered a journey from Gothenburg to Panama via New York, on very favorable conditions, on board the Shipping Concern's motorship *Halland*. Later on, Major Jacobsson also took great personal interest in the fate of the expedition and likewise offered us a chance of solving, on equally profitable terms, the problem of the home journey, which had to be made by stages from Balboa, C. Z., to Baltimore, Md., by the M S *Svealand*, and then by the M S *Vasaholm* from New York to Gothenburg. It also gives me great pleasure to thank the other Directors of the concern, as well as the officers and employees, for their great kindness.

The object of the expedition was, apart from the above-mentioned specialized linguistic studies, to continue the work for the Gothenburg Ethnographical Museum in Panama and Colombia and possibly also other Latin American countries, to such an extent as the time would allow, and to reestablish the contacts with these countries on the other side of the sea, interrupted by the war. In particular, this appeared desirable as far as Colombia was concerned, as in the latter country important centers for ethnological and archaeological research had grown up during World War II and later, in which enthusiastic representatives were taking part. From one of these, the head of the *Instituto Etnológico del Magdalena* at Santa Marta, Dr. Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff, I even had a formal invitation to continue in effect the collaboration earlier started by correspondence, exchange of literature, etc. The Santa Marta Institute also became for a considerable part of the expedition our hospitable headquarters in

Colombia, and the trip to the Cuna on the Río Caimán Nuevo, as well as expeditions to the Kággaba in the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta and to the Goajiro Indians, were initiated in intimate collaboration with this Colombian anthropologist as well as with representatives for the ethnological studies in Colombia at the *Instituto Etnológico y Servicio de Arqueología* in Bogotá; its Director, Dr. Luis Duque Gómez, became during this expedition both a personal acquaintance and a dear friend. For the support rendered the expedition in Colombian territory by Duque Gómez, manifested in extensive collaboration, I wish to pronounce my sincere gratitude.

Sincere and respectful thanks are also due to those private persons, concerns, and funds, who made the journey possible through cash contributions, namely at Caracas, Venezuela, Mr. Gunnar Tryde, and in Gothenburg, the following ones, mentioned in the order in which the contributions were made available:

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Apart from the contributors mentioned, a private friend, who positively desires not to be mentioned, has been kind enough to lend his support to the expedition, which I cannot refrain from calling to grateful remembrance.

In a detailed report in Swedish (Wassén, 1949), I have also made an account of the contributions in kind, such as material, etc., placed at our disposal. It is a dear duty to render respectful thanks to all donors.

The photographs in this work, with one exception (fig. 8), are all taken by the author. The structural drawing in fig. 17 has been made by my friend Mr. Göran Moberger, all other drawings at the Ethnographical Museum in Gothenburg by Mr. Otto Puusta, for which due acknowledgement is made.

A special grant from *Humanistiska Fonden* in Stockholm for the printing of this work is herewith thankfully acknowledged. Also I

wish to thank the Board of Trustees of *Aktiebolaget Original-Odhner*, Gothenburg, for a contribution towards the costs of preparing the manuscript.

I also have a fresh occasion to sincerely thank my American friends, Dr. D. B. Stout, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y., and Miss Gloria Sonneborn, Detroit, Mich., for their kindness, while staying in Gothenburg in 1948 and 1949, to assist me in revising the English text. The main part of this work has, however, devolved upon my friend Nils M. Holmer, who has kindly offered much of his limited spare time for this revision, for which I duly thank him.

Finally I wish to express my sincere thanks to the Director of the Gothenburg Ethnographical Museum, Dr. K. G. Izikowitz, who kindly facilitated the acceptance of this work for the museum's series.

April 1949

Henry Wassén

P R E F A C E

When the Swedish research group arrived at Narganá on March 22, 1947, more than twelve years had elapsed since my first personal visit to the San Blas in 1935. Because of Sweden's isolation during World War II we knew very little about the change of the Cuna culture due to the continuous and accelerated contacts between these Indians and the Panamanian and American cultures. That this cultural change, however, had been quite considerable was to be gathered from our American friend and fellow researcher on the Cuna Indians, Dr. D. B. Stout of the Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y., whom we had the pleasure of meeting in New York City on our way to Panama. His introductory work on the San Blas Cuna acculturation, frequently quoted on the following pages, was originally written in 1941 and based on his field work in some of the San Blas islands in 1940. Now, in 1947, it was in the press, and we were quite aware that this book would give a concentrated picture of the main traits of San Blas Cuna culture down to 1940. The chief purpose of our field work in 1947 would therefore be to do linguistic research and to collect, if possible, additional material regarding the tribal history and culture. To what degree this was possible will appear both from this publication as well as from a special Cuna chrestomathy by Nils M. Holmer, including songs and texts as well as illustrative material from the ethnographical collections made both during this and earlier expeditions.

The first thing which surprised me upon arrival at Narganá was the electric street lighting. Both Yantup and Nusatup, as well as the connecting bridge between the islands, took advantage of this novelty by means of a Diesel generator installed on Yantup in 1944, during the presidency of R. A. de la Guardia. The electric plant was run by the Indians themselves, and the village streets and open spaces as well as most of the modern-built Indian houses now had electric light between 6 and 11 o'clock P. M. The photograph in



Fig. 1. Modern Narganá. Church, missionary dwellings, bungalows on poles, and electric lighting in midst of old native houses.

fig. 1 shows the arrangement of the light columns between the old-type Indian houses.

Another surprise was the number of modern-styled houses on concrete posts. The modern two-storied houses will most probably very soon supplant the old ones, at least at Narganá, and in 1947 there were already fifteen of them alone on Yantup.

Even on Tigre (figs. 6-7) and other islands still culturally comparatively intact, modern houses could now be seen, often stores owned by the communities or by economic societies or private persons. One of the stores at Narganá-Yantup was owned by the *Sociedad San José*. The cash was counted nightly by three persons and an Indian named Fred Phillips, elected auditor, made his revision each month. Some of the stores were combined with a kind of restaurant where ready-made food like rice and soups could be bought. In all stores coca-cola, lemonades, etc., were sold, generally kept in kerosene-operated refrigerators.

One community-owned store on Nusatup was occasionally used as a dance hall at night. Young bare-footed Indian boys were practicing modern dancing to the music of a band of three or four Indian musicians. The girl partners, however, wore shoes. They sat on one side of the room and the boys on the other. When the band started to play, the boys rushed over to the girls, snatching away one of them to dance with. As far as I could notice, the dancing couples did not talk during the dance and looked as serious as most white





Fig. 3. *A*, Boys catching minnows for bait fishing, using a seine net. *B*, Scene from the beach. The structure above the water edge is a pig pen. Narganá-Yantup.

people generally do when dancing at a restaurant. However, very few of the Indians really danced, but there was always a crowd of spectators. One of the most frequent dancers among the young men was an albino.

Practically none of the novelties mentioned above existed at Narganá in 1935, nor did the modern ball games, such as basket ball and baseball, which the young Cuna men were now practicing. As for the baseball game, the Cuna now even take part in national Panamanian competitions although, owing to the few possibilities of training, they have very little chance of beating the teams from the capital, Colon, etc. They lose regularly, but, as Pérez Kantule puts it, "the Cuna are good losers."

It is quite obvious that Narganá (figs. 1-5) is the leading community in respect to the introduction of modern elements among the San Blas Cuna. For example while preparing this preface letters from my Indian friend Rubén Pérez Kantule informed us of the completion of an airfield on the island, the very first visit of an American helicopter and a regular passenger traffic by planes to San Blas. "Cuando piensan de viajar ya saben pues tenemos aviones a su disposición" (letter from Pérez of March 15, 1949). Pérez further communicates in his letter that the Indians also have shares in the aviation company "Aviación General S. A." Experienced Indians held the opinion that within very few years the whole of the San

Blas coast would have to follow this modernization movement, a process which the most optimistic of the culturally pro-Panamanian members of the community estimated to take perhaps not more than five years. If this be true, I think that from an ethnographer's point of view we have a right to feel happy to have so much documentary material collected already from the Cuna Indians, as is now the case, even if we limit ourselves to the Gothenburg Ethnographical Museum. The eight following chapters, based on information gathered in 1947, are mainly intended as a completion of the published part of this material.

As unfortunately I had no opportunity to visit Ustupu, the seat of the supreme chief Olotebiliguiña, according to what is said on p. 91 the leader of a faction, which allows schools on the islands, but does not admit of any considerable changes in the old customs, I have finally asked my fellow-researcher and companion, Nils M. Holmer, to give some of his impressions regarding the introduction of new elements into the culture of Ustupu, where he stayed for linguistic research from April 9 to May 4. Dr. Holmer states the following:

"The people of Ustupu, under the auspices of their first chief Olotebiliguiña, are faithful adherents of the old traditions, as implanted into them by the great spiritual leader and former chief Nele de Kantule. True to his doctrine, the people of Ustupu and their ruling officials have embraced the twofold principle of acquiring an education equal to that of the Panamanians, at the same time up-



Fig. 4. Details from Narganá-Yantup. A, Ladder (*arsana*), B, Grinding stone (*akkwanan* 'mother stone') with its hand stone (*akkwa siskwa* 'daughter stone').



Fig. 5. Basket maker. Narganá-Vantup.

holding the old traditions and customs with all might. In the main part of Ustupu there are consequently two schools — an American and a Panamanian —, both taught by native teachers, while there is no church. The remote part of the island, the community of Okopsuk-kun, which has its own chiefs and officials, has not even gone so far as to permit schools.

As the national and spiritual center of San Blas (and this view is constantly pointed out by the people), Ustupu has retained the communal meetings, the “congress,” which is held at least a couple of times a week in *Ibeorgunnega*, a real sanctuary to the memory of Nele de Kantule, in which relics from the venerated *nele* are kept,



Fig. 6. Discarded wooden figures on the island of Tigre, piled up to be burned, after having been used for the magical curing of diseases. See in fig. 24 *a* a representation of the female figure visible to the left in the pile.

and also a library. White men and negroes are rarely seen on Ustupu, although traders often stop to bring goods for the few stores. In the principal one, a huge phonograph was to be seen and often heard when people gathered together to buy chicha. In another, there was a refrigerator for cooling the indispensable soft drinks.

This was about all I saw of modern institutions. Drunkenness occurred, but almost only at the festivals and from drinking the native *chicha fuerte* (of fermented cane juice). The dances were all native dances and were practiced at festivals only, men and women dancing apart. On the open plain, however, facing the congress house and the schools, there were poles for basketball, and occasionally the boys were seen practicing. Other games imported from the white people were not seen during my brief stay among these Indians."



Fig. 7. Medicine cure on the island of Tigre, San Blas. Dry "caña brava" stalks put into the earth. If the stalks should turn green, the patient would recover, if not, he would die.

CHAPTER I

Cuna Indian Migrations and Old Affinities between Eastern and Western Sub-Tribes

(With Two Appendices)

Regarding the Cuna emigration to the San Blas Islands, it is in a certain way interesting to take up again the question of the origin of the tribe.

This matter has been dealt with previously. I have myself, for instance, while publishing Haya's records of the old Inatoigina's story about the first Cuna settlement at Narganá (Wassén, 1938, pp. 20 sqq.), remarked that the aforesaid story clearly reflects the gradual migration from the mainland to the islands, as well as the fact that this migration took place relatively recently and that the Cuna came from the Pacific side of the Isthmus. In the statement quoted from Nordenskiöld (Wassén, 1938, p. 23, footnote), where it says "The coastal region began to attract these Indians who, like the Chocó, mainly lived along the banks of the rivers. They evacuated more and more the Pacific side of the Isthmus and went over to its Atlantic side. They lost interest in the regions about the Gulf of Urabá, and the main body of the tribe settled on the San Blas coast and on the upper reaches of the rivers Chucunaque and Bayano,"¹⁾ it appears that Nordenskiöld rather understood the emigration to the coast as synchronical with the movement to the upper reaches of the mentioned rivers. This would not seem correct — at least if we give credit to the living Indian tradition. First of all, it is necessary to make a distinction between the San Blas coast and the islands outside. Stout, 1947, p. 49, writes in regard to the islands "there is no mention of Indians living on the islands until well into the 19th century; hence, all the earlier contacts evidently took place on the mainland, principally around the Gulf of Urabá and on the Pacific side of the Cordillera and later on the Caribbean coast as well. In

¹⁾ Also published in CES 10, p. 3-4.

describing the contacts of the Cuna, those after about 1850 pertain only to the San Blas Cuna who by then were beginning to live on the islands." He also points out that "after the establishment of Panama City, colonization took place on the Pacific side, and numerous towns were established on the Chepo (or Bayano) River and on the rivers flowing into the Gulf of San Miguel. Missionaries and administrators followed the well-known "reducción" policy of the colonial government and cruelties became so numerous¹⁾ that in the early 17th century laws were passed which would supposedly protect the Indians from further abuse. No doubt some Cuna groups fled up the rivers on the Pacific side, and it appears that it was during the late 16th and early 17th century that the Cuna began their northward movement, though some remained well over on the Pacific side until Wafer's time (1681)." Stout's opinion, therefore, is to the effect that an early migration took place to the upper courses of the rivers and that the emigration to the islands is as late as about 1850. It is, however, beyond doubt that even before this emigration colonization by the Cuna existed to a certain extent along the Caribbean coast of the Isthmus, and we must assume that this is the region where the gradual change of the Cuna into a sea-minded people took place.

A coastal habitation before the emigration to the islands is apparent from Spanish statistical data, although considering the uncertainty of the sources the figures given must needs be subject to precaution.

I begin with the particularly interesting and detailed statistics of the number of Indian families in Darien found in *Descripción de la Provincia del Darién*, dating from 1741 and published by Cuervo (tome II, Bogotá, 1892, pp. 273-298). The summarization on p. 281 shows the following number of Indian families:

The Río Bayano area	892	Indian families		
The Río Chucunaque area	829	»	»	Total 1,721 families. ²⁾
The Río Tuira area	1,145	families	»	1,145
"Ríos y quebradas de las bandas del Norte"	2,077	»	»	2,077
				Total 4,943 Indian families. ³⁾

¹⁾ It is well to remember the words of Las Casas (t. III, p. 168): "Repartió Pedrarias todos los pueblos de indios entre los españoles que allí se avecindaron, que era y fué siempre el fin de su felicidad."

²⁾ The supreme chief for these large groups was Juan Sauní, 'que es hijo de francés' (Cuervo II, p. 273 and 281).

³⁾ In the text (p. 281) the total is given as 4,937, to which are added 67 French families.

In the Spanish text the members in each family are estimated at "dos, tres, cuatro, cinco y seis mugeres, y ocho ó diez hijos," which at a low calculation would give ten persons per family, and that consequently the total number of Indians in the above-mentioned areas in 1741 would amount to 50,000. If we reckon with an average of 8 persons per family, which may be considered more reasonable, the number will in any case approach 40,000.

A considerable part of the settlements included in the statistics are situated on the Atlantic side, but no mention is found of Indians on the islands, whence it may be supposed that the emigration had not yet begun at that time.

In his report from Porto Velo of 1757 to the Spanish king, Miguel Remon gives some population data, from which I shall here quote the following for the coast between Tarena and the Cardi river, which latter is said to be "the ultimate limit of the Indian population on this side of the Point of San Blas and of Mandinga Bay":

Titumate: seven or eight families of Indians;

River Pito: ten families;

River Caret: some three or four families;

Caledonia: in front of the place where the Scotch fortified themselves . . . four families; On the principal river of Caledonia, called Aggre, lives Captain Miguel with forty families of Indians . . .;

Sardi: three or four Indian families;

Navigandi: up which river are fifteen families of Indians;

Pudrugandi: seven or eight Indian families;

Mosquito River: fifteen Indian families;

Matunagandi: some ten families of Indians, it is a small river;

River Playon or the River de las Armas, twenty families of Indians, more or less;

Valley of Marzalagandi: some four families of Indians;

River Azucar: not known whether it is at present inhabited;

River Diablo (= now mostly Narganá): fifteen families of Indians;

Rio Cedro: twenty families of Indians;

Rio Cardi: a dozen families of Indians."¹⁾

Fidalgo (end of the 18th century) expressly states that "El Golfo" is inhabited by Cuna Indians, who have come from the coasts of the South Sea, fleeing from those parts to those of Darien. He further says that they live on hunting and fishing, that they inhabit the river banks, none living on the coast of the sea, and further that

¹⁾ Davis, 1896-97, p. 84-85.

they are very seldom accustomed to close settlements, but that those members who live along the same river consider themselves as of the same people, being distinguished according to the names of the rivers.¹⁾ The number of warriors at the Gulf of Urabá is given as 150 to 160.²⁾

It appears from an examination of Andres de Ariza's map of 1781, forming part of his "*Descripción de la Provincia del Darien ó gran Castillo de Oro*," Davis, 1866-67, map. 14, that the colonization on the coast itself was not an intensive one even at the end of the 18th century. In the map, figures in red appear on the rivers along the San Blas coast and around Urabá and these "red numbers on the Indian rivers denote the number of men able to bear arms in each case. The black figures denote the number of cocoa trees in the year 1761." If we now present statements as to the number of fighting men from the Point of San Blas in the west to the Tarena river at Urabá in the opposite direction, we obtain the following results (Ariza's spelling being retained):

R. Mandinga 12,	R. Putrugandi 18, (on an unnamed
R. Cuapti 14,	river immediately to the east of
R. Carte 9,	the latter the figure 90 has been
R. Asucar 15,	placed),
Urgandi 5,	Arquiati 25, and 15,
Guarucati 12,	Ystubuganti 30,
Cupeti 16,	Inside Isla de Pinos 12,
R. Sedro 78,	Sasardi 8,
R. Ticantiqui 12,	at Caledonia 10 and 15,
R. Maquebagandi 9,	Cares 9,
R. Milaneque 15,	Piton 6,
Playon 25,	south of Armira 10,
R. de la Concepción 17,	Cabo Tiburón 4,
R. Vehiti 14,	Gandi 40, unnamed river east of this
R. Mono 20,	30,
R. Ccoco 18,	Titimati 10 and
R. Aglicanti 13,	R. Tarena 7.
R. Cuty 10,	

As is seen, the figures are comparatively low. A comparison with the scanty material furnished by Ariza for the interior of the country is of immediate interest. Thus he has for Tubgandi and Sucupti on the upper Rio Grande del Chucunaque 50 and 60, respectively, on

¹⁾ *Expedición Fidalgo*. Cuervo, tome I, p. 184, note (a).

²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

the upper Rio de Chepo or Bayano, 62 and 95, and on the tributary Cañaras, 40 and 84; as it appears, the figures for the part of the country to the west of the watershed between the Atlantic and the Pacific are throughout higher.

At the time of the foundation of the Caledonia colony by the Scots in 1698, the peninsula was uninhabited. "The Peninsula which we possess, and which we found uninhabited (nor has it ever been any heretofore, that we have yet hear'd of)"¹⁾ was situated between the territories of two chieftains.

It is to be noticed that Ariza has no figures for any settlement on the islands off the San Blas coast, which are, however, marked on the map. I shall later return to Ariza's data for the east side of Urabá.

It has been pointed out in many places that the Cuna consider their mythological center to be the mountain *Takarkuna* (from *takar* — 'platanillo', *Myriosma quapilense*) far to the east in the present Darien (cf. Wassén, 1938, p. 13). During a canoe trip with Rubén Pérez Kantule on the Narganá river in March 1947, we passed, going down the river and on the right hand side, a creek called *Ulikar* (evidently from *ulu*, 'canoe' and *ikala* 'way'). Pérez then told that this was the place where the Indians formerly used to stop, coming from the Bayano to take possession of the coast. For fear of all the *pirya*'s in the ocean (that is to say, whirlpools inhabited by dangerous animals) they did not dare to approach the sea but walked by land from *Ulikar* toward the direction of the present-day Tigre, that is, eastward. On *Namakkettup*, which is an island, the medicinemen (*nelekana*) sang in order to frighten away the dangerous animals. Listening to such traditions — this particular one was told to me once before by Pérez and is published in CES 10, p. 124 —, gives one a strong impression that the Cuna were not originally sea-minded Indians. Pérez yet considers that many of his ancestors had gone to sea as sailors already in the 18th century. Looking for allies among the English speaking people against the Spaniards, they became friends of traders on the coast. The settlement on the islands had at that time begun sporadically, but was now accelerated in consequence of the increasing trade. Before 1741, however, no colonization of the islands existed.²⁾

¹⁾ A Letter, etc., 1699, p. 19.

²⁾ Cf. Stout, 1947, p. 54.

Now to continue Pérez' Indian tradition as to the origin of the tribe, the latter expressed as his positive opinion that the Cuna once came from the Tuira river. The Tuira (or Tuile) originates in Darien and enters into the Chucunaque near its estuary. According to Pérez, the Cuna would have ascended the Chucunaque from this point and reached the vicinity of its sources. From here part of the tribe moved westward toward the origin of the Bayano river and it is from the tribal division living there that the Cuna of Narganá and adjoining parts of the San Blas coast originally came. Pérez also points to the fact that the Indians, while cultivating the land along the upper Narganá (or Diablo) river, found half-moon-shaped nose ornaments for men of the type which Wafer depicts and describes from his stay with the Cuna chief Lacenta (1681).¹⁾

The aged Nele de Kantule, who died in 1944, told Pérez that he, as a child, still used to see old men having the septum perforated from wearing similar nose ornaments, which now are altogether gone out of use. The women, then as well as now, wore golden noserings.²⁾

The Cuna who at the present time live "*rio arriba*" that is to say, to the east of Ailigandi, Ustúpu, etc., toward the Colombian border,

¹⁾ Wafer's statement (1903, p. 140 and plate at p. 137) is confirmed by data from the time of the Scottish colonists in Darien. Thus it says in the letter from the gentleman (Edinburgh, 1699), on page 15: "They wear as an Ornament in their Noses, a Gold, or Silver Plate, in Form of an Half-Moon; which when they drink, they hold up with one Hand, while they lift up the Cup with the other."

In the same letter (p. 17) the complete dress of a chieftain is described. As the Scottish Darien letters are bibliographical rarities, I shall here quote the text *in extenso*: "Half a Mile from this place, liv'd the King, or chief Captain of the Indians of Darian who came to visit Us in Royal Robes, with his Queen and Family. His Crown was made of small white Reeds curiously woven having no other Top than its lining, which was red Silk. Round about the middle of it was a thin plate of Gold, about two Inches broad, lac'd behind, in which stuck two or three Ostrich Feathers. About this Plate went also a Row of Golden Beads, which were bigger than ordinar Peace; underneath which was seen the red lining of the Crown. In his Nose he wore a large Plate of Gold, in Form an half-Moon; and in each Ear a great gold Ring, nigh four Inches diameter with a round thin plate of Gold of the same Breadth, having an small Hole in the Center, by which it hung to the Ring. He was covered With a thin White Cotton Robe, reaching to the small of his Leggs, and round its Bottom a Frienge of the same, three Inches deep; so that by reason of the length of this Robe, We could see no farther than his naked Anckles. In his Hand He had a long bright Lance as sharp as any Knife." [Cf. Wafer, 1903, p. 139 sqq].

²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 15. "The Women have in their Noses a pretty thick Ring of Gold or Silver and cover themselves with a Blanket only."



Fig. 8. Family group, consisting of the wife and children of 1st chief Manitinali, R. Caimán Nuevo, Colombia. In the back row the author (left) and Dr. Holmer.

Photo G. Reichel-Dolmatoff

are according to Pérez descended from those Indians who remained on the Chucunaque and consequently did not move westward to the upper Bayano before taking possession of the coast.

In this connection I should like to point out that the data related to the descent of the Cuna from the interior of Darien have not been given by Pérez alone. On the contrary, this seems to be the common opinion among the Indians on the San Blas islands. When on March 28, 1947, on account of a festival, we paid a visit to the communal house at Narganá-Yantup, I noticed an old map of Colombia. Francisco Soo, secretary for the chiefs of San Blas, quite spontaneously pointed at the tributaries of the Chucunaque, such as the Ukurgandi, the Tuquesa, the Icuánati, the Tupisa, etc., saying that it was from there that the ancient *nele*'s came.

The same traditions may be obtained from the Río Caimán Cuna as well, that is, on the east side of the Gulf of Urabá in Colombia. During our stay there in June 1947, I became acquainted with an Indian named Juan Arteaga, who functioned as secretary to the first chief, Manitinali, successor to the chief Capilele, who had died three years earlier. Arteaga told me that *Pansulele*, son of *Wakiplele*, came from *Takarkuna*, also called *Apyakunyala*. He was the first of the Cuna on the Caimán river and according to Arteaga "muy destruido." *Wakiplele* had another son who moved southward to *Pinnukana*.

When dealing with the origin of the Cuna, one certainly has to consider the Caimán Indians as well. According to data obtained at our visit there, the tribe on the Caimán river then numbered 200 persons, that is to say, the number was about the same as in 1927, when Erland Nordenskiöld made a short visit there. He thus writes in the account of his journey: "There are supposed to be about twenty houses on the Río Caimanes. Estimating an average of 10 persons in each house, we get a number of 200 persons."¹)

Nordenskiöld finds it strange that the Cuna concentrated on the Río Caimanes. "No other river on the same side of the Gulf of Urabá is, as far as one knows, inhabited by these Indians, and so it has been for a long time."²) Ariza, in his map, has 20 men noted down for Caimán and to the north of it, 11 on the Río Banana and 22 and 9 on the Urabá. Inside the bay of Turbo it says 8 and 4, and farthest

¹) Nordenskiöld, 1928, p. 260.

²) *Ibid.*, p. 260.

to the south on the Río Guacuva, 6 and 10. Only forty years earlier the number of Cuna Indians at Turbo had been considerably larger, namely more than 80 Cuna families (along with 22 Frenchmen), who had large plantations of cacao.¹⁾ Ariza has no notation of cacao for Turbo in his later map, but he has for Río Caimán to the north of it, with no less than 28,000 trees. Evidently, the east side of the Gulf of Urabá, although at the present time of little economical importance, was in the 18th century a rather important center, largely due to the fact that the French had established a colony. In Miguel Remon's report (1757) it is stated, for instance: "Coasting along from Carthagena to Porto Velo, the first Indians met with are five families, more or less, who live on the River Cayman, which is to the eastward of the Gulf of Darien. With them are twenty-five or thirty Frenchmen, all living with Indian women, by whom they have many children. They have numerous cocoa trees which they are constantly improving."²⁾

In 1784 a small Spanish fort was erected at Cerrito de Caiman and near the river of the same name in order, as it is said, to win the friendship of the Indians and to prevent illegal foreign trade and invasions "por los ríos del Darién y Guacuba en las Provincias del Chocó y Antioquia." As early as 1791-92 the fort was demolished and the place abandoned "por disposición del Virrey B.^o Fr. Don Francisco Gil y Lemus, con sumo sentimiento de Pobladores é Yndios que vivian en perfecta buena armonia, y de sus resultas quedó abandonado el Golfo."³⁾

Let us now return to the data obtained in 1947 at Caimán. According to 1st chief Manitinali, Cuna Indians, apart from Caimán, are living only at the following places in Colombia:

Arquíá,	100 persons with a chieftain;
Tigre,	2 houses;
Cutí,	10 persons.

All these places are situated between the lower course of the Atrato river and the Cordillera, thus to the west of the delta. It is apparent that the number of Cuna Indians in Colombian territory has decreased immensely since 1741, the year in which the aforementioned statistics

¹⁾ *Descripción de la Provincia del Darién*. Cuervo, tome 2, 1892, p. 280-281.

²⁾ Davis 1806-07, p. 82.

³⁾ *Expedición Fidalgo*. Cuervo, tome I, p. 188.

were published. At that time their dominion is supposed to have reached the Sinú river.

It may be questioned whether the Cuna at Caimán in Colombia should be considered a remnant of an earlier more easterly expansion, older than the one in western Darien. If we are to judge from the tradition related above as to the descent of the oldest *nele* from *Takar-kuna*, this alternative can not be upheld, but the Caimán Cuna also would count their origin from Darien, and there is a possibility that their eastward migration took place in the early 16th century being caused by the Spanish colonization activities in Darien.

If we read Cieza de León's description of the encounters between Francisco Pizarro and the "*indios de Urabá*," near a fortified place, "*ciudad o villa de Urabá*,"¹⁾ we get the very important information that these Indians were *new there* and that their original home was close to "*río grande del Darién*," i. e., the Atrato, from where they moved in order to avoid the subjugation and cruel treatment of the Spaniards. The invading Indians in their new region completely defeated other tribes living there and became a ruling class.²⁾

There is, of course, no direct mention in Cieza's book of these Indians being Cuna. On the other hand, the general description by Cieza of the Indians in question may very well be that of a Cuna tribe:

"Son en el comer limpios, y no acostumbran las fealdades que otras naciones. Tienen pequeños pueblos, y las casas son a manera de ramadas largas

¹⁾ Founded by governor Alonso de Ojeda in the "*Culata de Urabá*," where San Sebastian de Buena Vista was founded by Alonso de Heredia "a poblar segunda vez a Urabá." (Cieza de León, 1922, p. 24). Acosta, 1848, map, places San Sebastian just opposite La Antigua.

²⁾ Cieza de León, 1922, p. 23: "Y en esta ciudad o villa de Urabá pasó muchos trabajos este capitán Francisco Pizarro con los indios de Urabá y con hambres y enfermedades, que para siempre quedará dél fama. Los cuales indios (según decían) no eran naturales de aquella comarca, antes era su antigua patria la tierra que está junto al río grande del Darién. Y deseando salir de la subjeción y mando que sobre ellos los españoles tenían, por librarse de estar sujetos a gente que tan mal los trataba, salieron de su provincia con sus armas, llevando consigo sus hijos y mujeres. Los cuales, llegados a la Culata que dicen Urabá, se hubieron de tal manera con los naturales de aquella tierra, que con gran crueldad los mataron a todos y les robaron sus haciendas, y quedaron por señores de sus campos y heredades." *Ibid.*, p. 25: "Estos indios que en estos tiempos señorean esta región, ya dije cómo muchos dellos dicen su naturaleza haber sido pasado el gran río del Darién, y la causa por que salieron de su antigua patria. Son los señoretos o caciques de los indios obedescidos y temidos, todos generalmente disquestos y limpios, y sus mujeres son de las hermosas y amorosas que yo he visto en la mayor parte destas Indias dondo he andado."

de muchos estantes. Dormían y duermen en hamacas; no tienen ni usan otras camas." — "Cuando los españoles daban en los pueblos destes indios y los tomaban de sobresalto, hallaban gran cantidad de oro en unos canastillos que ellos llaman habas,¹⁾ en joyas muy ricas de campanas, platos, joyeles, y unos que llaman caricuries, y otros caracoles grandes de oro bien fino, con que se atapaban sus partes deshonestas, y otras joyas de muchas maneras, que les tomaban; tenían ropa de algodón mucha. Las mujeres andan vestidas con unas mantas que les cubren de las tetas hasta los pies; y de los pechos arriba tienen otra manta con que se cubren. Préciáanse de hermosas; y así; andan siempre peinadas y galanas a su costumbre. Los hombres andan desnudos y descalzos, sin traer en sus cuerpos otra cobertura ni vestidura que la que les dió natura. En las partes deshonestas traían atados con unos hilos unos caracoles de hueso o de muy fino oro; que pesaban algunos que yo vi a cuarenta y a cincuenta pesos cada uno; y a algunos a más, y pocos a menos."²⁾

It is a fact that this description well fits into that "composite account" of Panamanian Indians which Lothrop, 1937, p. 9 sqq., has given. Lehmann, 1920, p. 69, is bold enough to identify the Indians mentioned by Cieza de León as having come from the other side of the Atrato river with the Caimán Cuna. If this be true, we may assume that the peopling of the eastern side of Urabá by Cuna tribes took place as a result of Spanish pressure on Cuna groups already settled between the Atrato river and the southeastern parts of Panama. Thus the Eastern Cuna belief in a common place of origin with the San Blas Cuna (*Takarkuna* mountain and river) also would date back to the early 16th century. The Cuna peopling of Darien is presumably much older, but for several reasons there will be no definite answer to the question when the Cuna migration to Darien took place.

Generally speaking, it appears a frequent mistake on the part of modern investigators to consider all the Indian tribes as stationary in pre-Columbian times or at the time of the Conquest as they had to be during the later centuries. Oviedo, in his writings, stresses

¹⁾ This word, which designates a kind of basket, is of Island-Carib origin (Goeje, 1946, p. 61, "corbeille, *wapa, uaba*") and the Spaniards no doubt learned to use it already on the Antilles. Oviedo, t. III, lib. XXIX, cap. X, p. 48, in his description of Badajoz's expedition of 1515 in the Coclé region of central Panama, speaks of "*habas ó cestas grandes de oro*" in the village of chief Paris. '*Wapa*' is also a plant name. Cf. M. Greshoff (1901, p. 44): "*WAPA. Eperua (Parivoa) grandiflora* en *Crudya Parivoa*, fam. Leguminosae. *WAPA H'ILEUX*. (Olie-wapa). *Epéru*. Bois sabre. *Eperua latenta* AUBL. fam. Leguminosae-Caesalpiniaceae. *Wapa* patouye der Gahila's Waibaba der Arowakken."

²⁾ Cieza de León, p. 27-30.

the fact that in the province of Cueva, at least in some regions, the Indians used to move frequently from one place to another, and "si en esta provincia se va cansando la tierra, hallan otra holgada, é assi se andan mudando."¹)

For a comparison between the actual culture status among the Panamanian Cuna and their kinsmen on the eastern side of the Urabá Gulf it is of course very important to know the date of the eastward expansion and its historical background. The movement to eastern Urabá is thus considerably older than the emigration to the islands of San Blas. It is typical, for instance, that the Cuna at Caimán (which according to Stout, 1947, p. 13, are named *Tanakkwetola* 'Eastern people')²) still live scattered in single houses along the river, not in villages,³) and consequently in the same way as the San Blas Cuna lived originally.⁴) By this I do not want to indicate that villages were altogether missing in the interior. Pirya, on the Bayano river was, for example, at the time of McKim's visit there in 1936 a deserted village (see McKim, 1947 b, p. 148 sqq.). Apparently, the custom of living in solitary houses did not exclude the possibility of the formation of villages. Wafer (1903, p. 145) also states: "Their Houses lie mostly thin and scattering, especially in New Plantations, and always by a River-side. But in some Places there are a pretty many together, so as to make a Town or Village; yet not standing close or orderly, in Rows or Streets, but dispers'd here and there, like our Villages on Commons, or in Woodlands." It is self-evident that the form of habitation on islands with a limited surface is apt to develop into one of villages.

Not only the habit of living scattered in single houses but also the way of planning and using the houses seems to be nearly identical among the mainland Cuna in Panamá and the R. Caimán Cuna in

¹) Oviedo, Tomo III, Lib. XXIX, Cap. XXVII, p. 132.

²) Holmer supposes this to be *tannakkwetola*, from *tannakkwe* 'sunrise, east.'

³) At a place called *Ule* on the Río Caimán Nuevo no less than five houses were said to be situated together.

⁴) Cf. Felipe Pérez, 1862, p. 99 (speaking about houses): "Encuéntrense éstas por lo comun aisladas, o de a dos o tres juntas a lo mas, i siempre en las orillas de los ríos para la comodidad de la pesca i del baño, del que hacen un uso mui frecuente. Raros son pues los puntos en que se encuentran 15 o 20 familias reunidas, pero tienen la costumbre de enumerar como pueblos las casas que están separadas en las orillas o en las inmediaciones de un río, aunque se hallen a 1 o 2 miriámetros de distancia."



Fig. 9. *A*, The house of the 1st chief Manitinali on the R. Caimán Nuevo, Colombia. The house stands well hidden in a forest clearing about a hundred yards from the river, to where different paths lead (cf. fig. 10). *B*, One of the entrances to the same house. Above the entrance door, in the left corner of the house, there was a platform used as storage space. It could be reached from the outside by an opening above the door, a notched log being used as a ladder.

Colombia. On the San Blas Islands, most families have a special cook house, *sokakka*,¹⁾ which is the proper place of the women.

McKim, 1947 b, p. 154, when describing the houses of Pirya on the Upper Bayano, says that they "differ from those on the islands of the coast by having no gables above the end-walls of upright canes, bamboos, or split palm sticks, the height of which is seven or eight feet. All have doors, which is not usual in the islands. Also, there is a second story or loft over a third to a half of the interior, reached by a notched log, which is uncommon in the islands except in the extreme eastern villages. All fastenings of the framework of the houses are vines. The cross members and braces, which are of hardwood and quite heavy, are secured in this way. Many of the houses have a kitchen-part, separate from, but connected with, the main house. The thatch is nipa and the leaves, fifteen to twenty feet long, are split along the midrib and laid horizontally. The

¹⁾ From *soo* 'fire, fireplace' and *kakka* 'end, nook, corner.' The fire, as McKim (1947 b, p. 150) puts it, when speaking about the village of Pirya, burns "at the juncture of three logs arranged like spokes." The same system is used at R. Caimán Nuevo (see fig. 11). The logs used for burning are of mangrove trees (*ailli*).

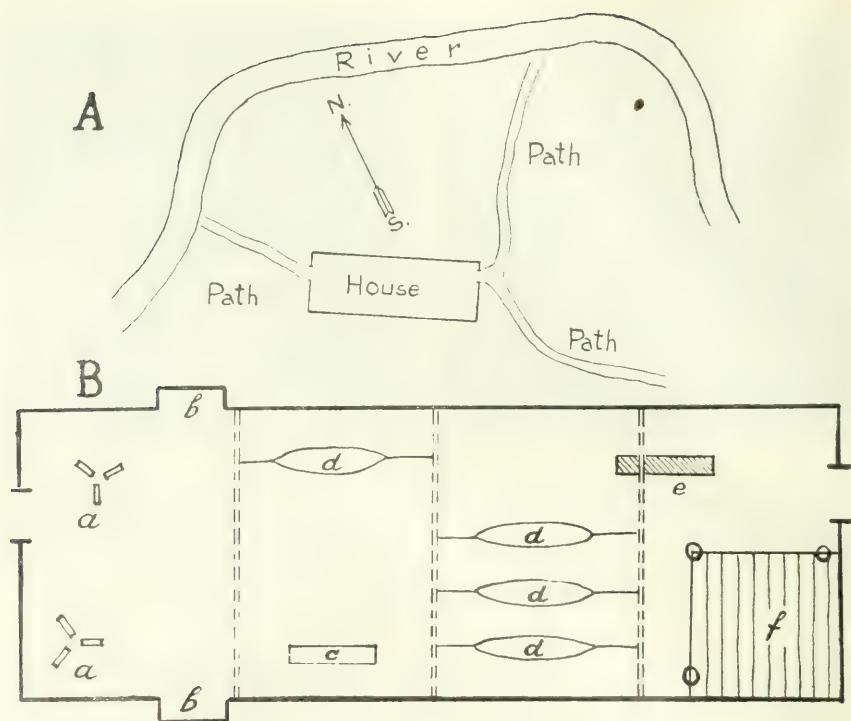


Fig. 10. *A*, Situation and *B*, Plan of 1st chief Manitinali's house at R. Caimán Nuevo. *a*, Fireplaces; *b*, Nooks with shelves for kitchen utensils, partly modern; *c*, Shelf on forked branches; *d*, Hammocks hung from the crossbeams (dotted line); *e*, Cement slab in the earthen floor marking a burial; *f*, Storage platform on three posts. Below it, a stand with two shelves for medicines, etc. The ground plan of the house was 14 × 5 m.

Indians in the islands use a smaller-leaved palm of another species,¹⁾ laid at right angles to the ridge."

Even if there were single houses without a special *sokakka* among the Cuna at R. Caimán Nuevo (e.g., the house of the first chief *Manitinali*, figs. 9 and 10), we still found houses of the type described above, with a kitchen part, separated from, but connected with the main house. A plan of such a house belonging to a Cuna Indian named Benito Ribera is seen in fig. 12 and photographs of the same house in fig. 13. The part to the left with the two fire places is according to Holmer's linguistic notes the *soneka* (firehouse), and

¹⁾ This palm is called *ocoche* (ka) in Cuna.



Fig. 11. Fireplace in 1st chief Manitinali's house on the Río Caimán Nuevo. In the background, a grinding stone.

the part to the right the *neitummat* ('big house'). The space between was *neitummat*. The thatching was of *soska* palm leaves (*sos+ka*, leaf). In the plan in fig. 12, the parallel rows of house posts are marked with circles and the thatching of the two roofs, with dotted lines. Benjamin's house had a wooden bench in one of the corners of the big house, and two entrances with doors, one to the *soneka* and one to *neitummat*. Except for the missing second story, or loft, the description of this house fits very well to that of McKim from the village of Pirya and that of Restrepo Tirado, 1881, p. 124, from the Cuna Indians of Paya in Darien. The latter, after describing the general form of the houses, says that: "el techo lo cubren con guagara [*choosca*], palma real (*aaa*) ó platanillo (*tacara*). Dos ó mas puertas de madera, toscamente labradas, sirven de entrada á la parte baja, ó sea al departamento de las mujeres. En el interior del edificio, á una altura de 3 metros, y ocupando poco más ó menos la tercera parte de la habitación, colocan un enmaderado que sirve de departamento de hombres. A éste se sube del interior por una viga inclinada y labrada, formando escada, y por la parte exterior por otra viga que va dar á una ventana colocada á la altura del piso, de modo que, cuando uno va á visitar á algún indio, entra á su casa por la ventana."

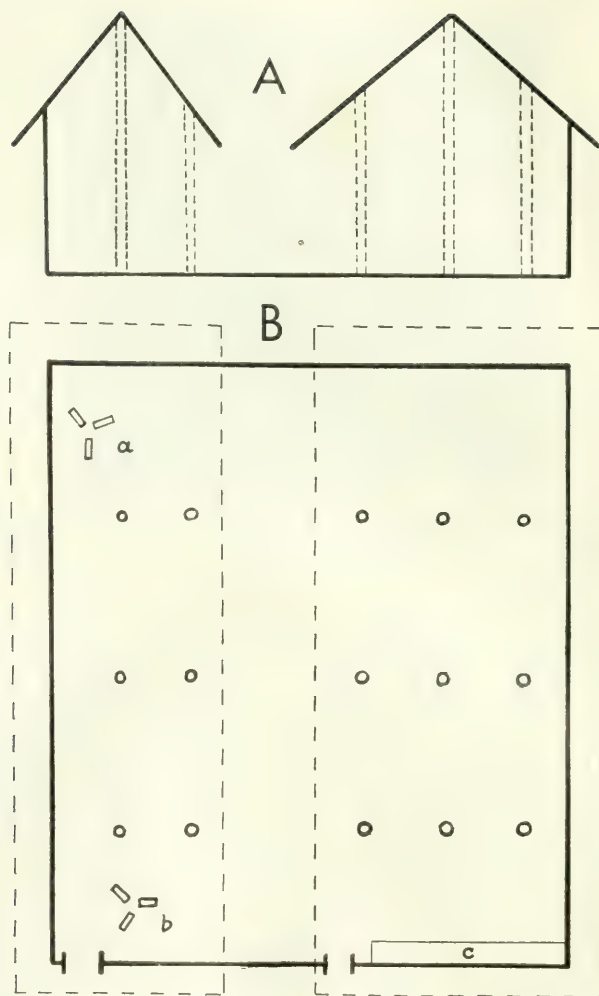


Fig. 12. *A*, Cross section and *B*, Plan of a twin house belonging to Benito Ribera at R. Caimán Nuevo, Colombia. To the left the firehouse with six posts and to the right the main house with nine posts. An open space between the two sections. In *B* the dotted line marks the outline of the thatching. *a* and *b* fireplaces, *c* seat. For *B* scale 1: 200.

It may be questioned whether this description by Restrepo Tirado is quite correct, as he probably misunderstood the function of the loft, which can hardly have been a special place for the men. There was also a loft placed on three logs in the house of the first chief Manitinali (see plan, fig. 10 *B*). This platform, covering only a part



Fig. 13. Twin house, consisting of *soneka* and *neitummat* (see p. 34 in the text) at Benito Ribera's on the R. Caiman Nuevo, Colombia. Between the two buildings, a narrow open yard. Cf. fig. 12.

of the house in one of the corners, was used as a store room for various articles, for the men as well as for the women. The platform was reached by a notched log. In this particular house, there was below the loft a much smaller *kalu* or storage shelf for medicines of the usual Cuna type, viz. different roots, pieces of wood, bits of antlers, stones, etc.,¹⁾ as the first chief was also a medicine man.²⁾

At Wafer's time there were "no Stories, no Doors, nor Shelves"³⁾ in the Cuna houses. Judging from the photograph published as fig. 8 in McKim's "The Forbidden Land," the doors in the village of Pirya

¹⁾ Among the medicines there was a *makkar*, a stone axe, of a type that the Indians said they used to find at Rio Mulato. The axe belonged to another Indian and could not be included in our collection.

²⁾ In this capacity he was also a curer of persons bitten by snakes and was one day observed wearing a *naipewini*, a multi-colored necklace of glass beads of the same type as was observed by me in San Blas in 1935 (cf. Wassén, 1938, p. 150). The necklace has as many colors as the skins of the snakes and is considered to protect the curer from being bitten himself. This particular application of color magic must be old among the Cuna to judge from what was observed already by the friar Adrian de Santo Thomas early in the 17th century: "Al picado de eulebra sajan la parte picada los mohanes, donde nadie los vea, con mil martirios, que les hacen si sana: los parientes hacen vna borrachera por toda vna noche y á la mañana lo ponen en cueros sobre vna piedra donde lo baten, y entretanto los mohanes, con muchas ceremonias estan dando de palos á *vna laques que traen del monte, de color de eulebra, con que afirman no seran mas picados* (Requejo Salcedo, p. 135-136, Italics mine).

³⁾ Wafer, 1903, p. 146.

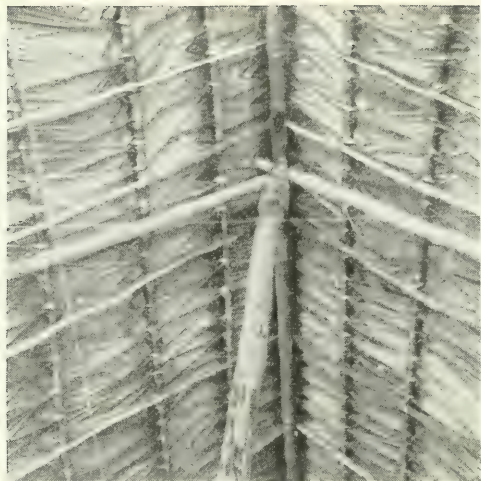


Fig. 14. The picture shows the roofing and thatching of the main house at Benito Ribera's on the R. Caimán Nuevo. Cf. fig. 12.

look very modern. At R. Caimán Nuevo, Colombia, the Cuna used doors of thick wooden planks, swung on pegs in the door post and the threshold. Exactly the same type of doors is used by the Kág-gaba Indians in Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta.

Another trait, presumably common to the Darien Cuna of earlier times and the present day Cuna at R. Caimán, is burial in the houses.

In CES 10, p. 454, Nordenskiöld says: "In earlier times a number of Cunas are supposed to have been buried in the very hut where they have lived."¹) An example of this custom is given in 1702 in the report of Nathaniel Davis of the expedition to the gold-mines of Santa Cruz de Cana,²) when it is said: "We lost on our side one *Indian*, whom we bury'd in the House." Mrs. Joyce, 1934, p. 161, footnote 2, adds to this passage in Davis' report "according to the custom of the Cuna." The rest of her remark in this note is, however,

¹) Cf. Oviedo, Tomo III, Lib. XXIX, Cap. XXXI, p. 155, about the keeping of the dried bodies of dead chiefs "en cierta parte que para aquello tienen en su casa deputada," as well as *ibid.*: "... quando se muere el caçique, despues que está enxuto por el fuego, segund es dicho, lo envuelven en çinco ó seys mantas ó mas, é lo echan en una hamaca que está colgada en el ayre, é lo ponen en la cámara, donde les paresçe que está mejor, ó donde él acostumbraba á dormir." (Italics mine).

²) See L. E. Elliott Joyce, 1934, Appendix II.

no proof of this Cuna custom, as the 'town of the dead,' seen by Gasso in 1907 up the river, on the mainland opposite Narganá island, must have consisted of special grave houses like those of today (see Gasso, tomo XIX, p. 236).

As is well known, the San Blas Cuna now have special burial places with grave huts on the mainland.¹⁾ We visited several of the burial places along the Narganá river in 1947, among them the place where Ruben Pérez' father *Kantulpippi* had been buried after his death occurred on October 29, 1946. On this grave (fig. 15) with its special grave hut, there was a table and a few things pertaining to the deceased in his character of *kantule*. Among the objects in question there was a calabash (*mantu*, cat. number



Fig. 15. Kantulpippi's gravehouse and burial equipment on the Río Narganá.

47.10.1),²⁾ a flute (*puketkammit*, of *puket* 'dead' and *kammit* 'flute', 47.10.2),³⁾ a little vessel of pottery (*puket-mette*, 47.10.3),⁴⁾ a clay-pipe (47.10.4)⁵⁾ and a nearly destroyed *kanulhuukin* (a *kantule*'s

¹⁾ See CES 10, p. 454, Stout, 1947, plate 15, Krieger, 1926, p. 89 and Linné, 1929, p. 247, sqq. The grave huts, or shelters, have no walls or gable ends. Joyce (1934, p. 177) says that "burial places of the Cuna are villages of the dead, replicas of the villages of the living."

²⁾ Partly painted.

³⁾ This flute has no holes. Another flute with holes was placed in the grave.

⁴⁾ Similar vessels are placed in the grave.

⁵⁾ Common men do not get their pipes with them.

hat).¹⁾ There were no difficulties at all in obtaining these objects for the collection; on the contrary, they were gladly presented by the dead man's son, who had followed us to the place to show the grave. On the whole, the Cuna showed no fear at all of their dead. On the other side of the river we visited a group of grave houses, where several families were just found gathered together. The grave shelters were used as drying-horses, some people were eating, the children were playing, etc. The Indians also may pass the nights on the graves if they cannot get home before nightfall.

Modern elements in the grave equipment were tomb stones (made of cement), crosses, slabs and even Panamanian flags.

A peculiar combination of the old Cuna way of burying in the houses and the modern practice of marking the place of a grave with a cement slab was observed by me among the Cuna at Río Caimán, Colombia, in 1947. In fig. 10 B there is a plan of the house belonging to the first chief *Manitinali*. In the place marked *c* on the drawing there was a cement slab in the earthen floor. The slab, 1.5 meters in length, was plain and had no signs on it. According to what we were told, the place marked a burial of the year before. The Indian Juan Arteaga told me that there might be as many as six burials in the same house, but then the inhabitants will move to another place and build a new house. The dead obtain grave gifts.

If we consider this way of the Eastern Cuna to bury in the houses an old system and the way of the modern San Blas Cuna to bury at quite a distance from the islands under plain roofs a more recent system,²⁾ it is interesting to note the remark by Nordenskiöld in

¹⁾ According to Pérez Kantule, even a wife of a *kantule* gets a ceremonial hat on her grave, as she has taken part in the dances wearing such a hat.

²⁾ It is to be noticed that as far as I am aware are no old accounts of special grave huts among the Cuna. Even Ernesto Restrepo Tirado, who lived among them in 1887 and gives a very detailed description of the burial customs of the Darien Cuna, does not mention grave houses. He simply says: "Suspenden en dos palos colocados en dos ángulos de un hoyo rectangular la hamaca con el cadáver, debajo ponen las armas, canastos y bienes y en una alacena pequeña una luz. Cubren con tablas el hoyo, y encima echan tierra. Luego los parientes ponen sobre su sepultura algunos alimentos, que reemplazan todos los días hasta que el olvido haya traído la indiferencia." (Vicente Restrepo, 1888, p. 127).

Linné, 1929, p. 252, says that "burying the dead in his hammock is also a widespread custom, and of still more prevalence is the practice of burial within the hut, or to



Fig. 16: House model. Cat. No. 47.19.28. The rectangular ground plan of the original house was 10×6 m.

CES 10, p. 454 that "in Arquía on the mainland the dead are buried near their houses," as Arquía is situated between the aforementioned two extremes.

During our stay at Narganá, Abelardo Pérez, a brother of Rubén Pérez Kantule, made the following house models with great care for the collections:

Cat. No. 47.19.28, an ordinary house; No. 29, the framework of a *sokakka*, cook house; No. 30, a *surpa* or enclosure for dressing, when taking a bath, and No. 35, a grave house, *uanneka*. The terminology for the different parts of the houses, the house posts, framework, etc., were annotated in collaboration with the maker of the model and the Cuna Indian Napoleon Hayans. This terminology will be published in detail in the vocabulary by Holmer; nevertheless, I wish to include in this chapter short descriptions of the models, with reference to figs. 16-19:

Fig. 16. Model of a living house, *neka*, belonging to the Cuna Indian Moski Quintero at Narganá-Yantup, father-in-law of Rubén Pérez Kantule.

build a special miniature hut on top of the grave. Hut-burial was undoubtedly the incomparably most common form of burial in Mexico and Yucatan." Cf. Norden-skiöld, 1912, p. 195, and Girand, 1948, p. 155. The latter also points out (*op. cit.*, p. 156) that the Maya tribes used to fasten "hilos, delgadas fibras de palma o hebras de zacate sobre las quebradas, riachuelos o barrancos por donde ha de pasar el espíritu del muerto, para que pueda salvar fácilmente el obstáculo." This is also found among the Cuna. See CES 10, p. 445, and Stout, 1947, p. 40.

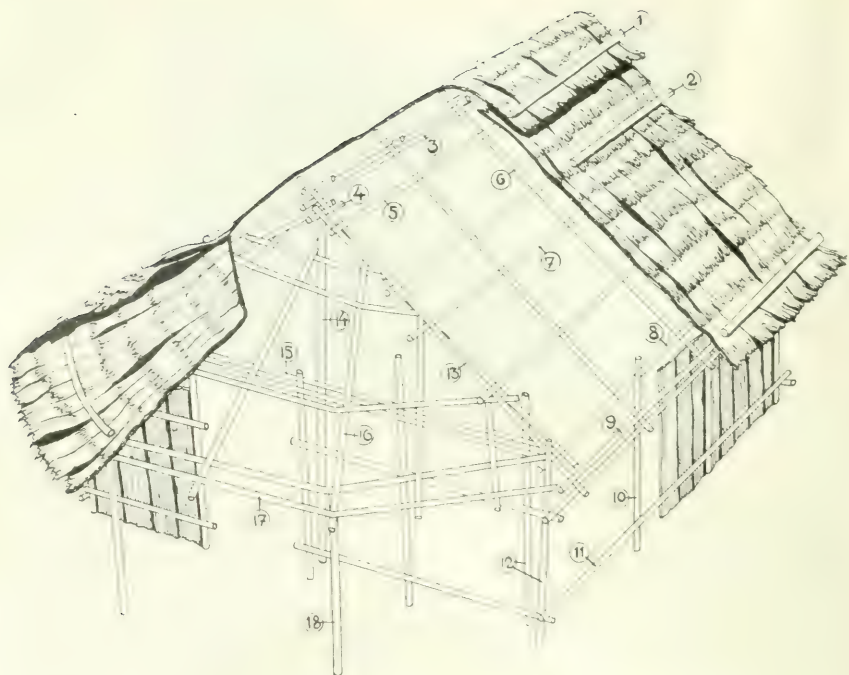


Fig. 17. Structural drawing of a house model, Cat. No. 47.19.29. See p. 43. Terminology: (1) Roofing lath, *uaskinkacti*; (2) Roofing lath, *werukkinkacti*; (3) Ridge, *asupiri*; (4) Pin, *tiolo*; (5) Roof lath, *irti*; (6) Rafter, *upakku*; (7) Second ridge, *sakarpiri*; (8) Third ridge from the top, *solpiri*; (9) Roof lath, *irti*; (10) Wall stake, *kalupupa*; (11) Wall lath, *masala*; (12) Inner and outer corner stakes, *usola*'s; (13) Rafter, *makket*; (14) Main stake, *puara*; (15) Gable binding beam, *nakupiri*; (16) Porch rafter, *upakku* or *nala*; (17) Porch roof lath, *irti*; (18) Porch stake, *usola*.

The thatching, which may last for 40 years if done well, is made from the *weruk* palm. The roof ridge is called *uas* (top of house). The porchlike constructions are called *upepe* (forehead of house). Both short ends of the house are alike, no difference existing between front and back. The *upepe* is supported by two *usola*'s (stakes). The walls, which are called *kalu*, were formerly made of the *ila*-palm, but now, owing to the difficulties in obtaining this palm, from the *masala*-tree. The lengthwise tying laths are always made of *masala*. Every part is fastened by a liana, *salikia*. The opening of the door is called *yawakakka*, the earthen floor, *nappa*, the roofing laths securing the thatch of the house, *uaskinkaeti* and *werukkinkaeti*.

Fig. 17. Model of the framework of a *sokakka*. The drawing

constitutes a combination of the catalogue numbers 47.19.28 and 29. Figures within parentheses refer to the numbers on the drawing.

In order to give a better demonstration of the details of the house frame, Abelardo Pérez made this model also; it rather appears to be a *sukakka* (cook house). The Cuna Indians often have two houses (especially when the families are large), of which one is the living house proper and the other is used for preparing food, eating, etc. *Sukakka* (from *soo* 'fire') is usually smaller than the ordinary living house and is therefore called *hembra* (Span.) 'female', whereas the larger house is called *macho* (Span.) 'male'. There exists close agreement in details of construction between both types.

When the house is built, two *puara*'s (14) are first put up by being dug into the ground and further (as in this case) eight *usola*'s (12), inner corner stakes and supports for the porches. After this, the rafters (13), *mukket*, are laid, which unite the tops of the *usola*'s with the top of the *puara*. In this case there are four *mukket*'s.

The horizontal gable binding beams between the corner stakes are called *nakupiri* (15), to which the hammocks are tied. In larger houses such a horizontal beam is found also in the middle of the house, with its stakes, in order to accommodate more hammocks.

The roof: The ridge connecting the main stakes is called *asupiri* (3). The second ridge is the *sakarpiri* (7), made from the *sakala*-tree. The third ridge from the top is the *solpiri* (8). The small roof laths (5), according to Haya, *irti*, are made of *masala*. The same name is used for the roof laths of the porch, which are made of bamboo. The rafters of the porch are called *upakku* or *nala*, made of bamboo (16). The wall stakes are *kalupupa* (10). The inner rafter (6) are called *upakku*.

According to Napoleon Hayans, older authorities used to say that in ancient times a building sacrifice was practiced, at which, for instance, a *perro del mar* was killed. In our days, rearing-feasts, e. g., in the form of a coffee party, are customary, to which the owner invites those who have helped him in building the house.

Fig. 18. Model of a *surpa* or bath hut (Cf. Wassén, 1938, fig. 4, and text p. 8). Both men and women take their daily baths standing in one of these huts, which are low enough to leave the head visible. The washing is performed by pouring of fresh water from the rivers. The huts are made of palm leaves and are without roofs.

Fig. 19. Model of a grave house, *uanneka*. The Cuna Indians



Fig. 18. Model of *surpa*. Cat. No. 47.19.30. See p. 43.

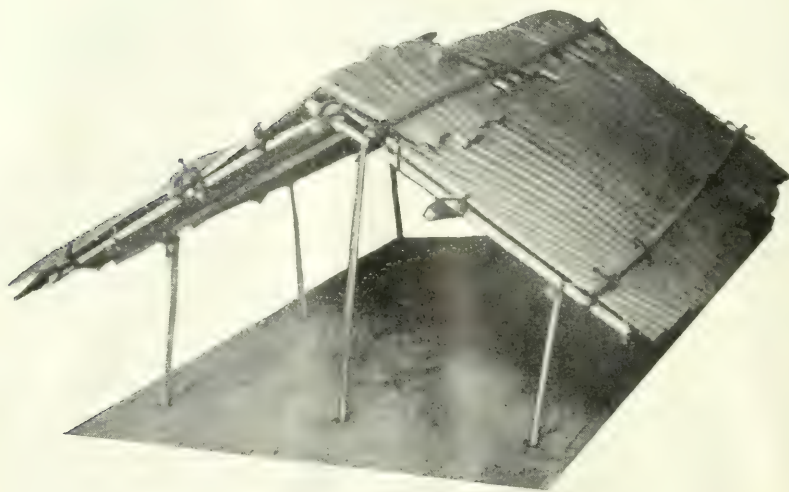


Fig. 19. *Uanneka*, or grave house. Cat. No. of model 47.19.35. See p. 43.

build similar shelters when they occasionally visit the islands far from the villages for the purpose of collecting coconuts (see fig. 20).

In this connection I should like to add a few words about the Cuna custom of keeping beaks of toucans, crab claws, and beautifully arranged feathers from various birds under the roof of the houses, as this practice was explained by the certainly too fanciful Frenchmen Armand Reclus and Lucien

Wyse as a system which the Indians at Paya used for counting the dead in the families.¹⁾ This explanation cannot be correct and already has been strongly criticized by Ernesto Restrepo Tirado after his studies at Paya in 1887. He asked several Indians about the custom in question and no one would confirm the explanation given by Reclus.²⁾

As pointed out in Wassén, 1935, p. 86, the same custom of keeping the gaudily colored beaks of the toucan birds in the houses is also found among the neighboring tribes of the Cuna, the Chocó and Catío, to limit ourselves to the regions closest to the Cuna territory. If the custom prevails among the San Blas Cuna I am unable to say, but, if it does, it is probably only sporadically now, as I cannot remember a single case from the islands. Among the Cuna on the eastern side of Urabá this custom, however, still generally prevails, and we thus find one more of the old culture traits still preserved there, common to the Eastern Cuna and their kinsmen in Darien.

The feathers and the beaks seen in fig. 21 were only a few of those hanging under the roof of the first chief Manitinali's house at R.

¹⁾ Reclus, 1888, p. 206, says that "au toit sont appendus de gri-gris de toutes sortes et des têtes de toucans - ces dernières indiquant le nombre de morts survenues dans la famille depuis la construction de la cabane."

²⁾ See Restrepo Tirado, 1888, p. 113). Mr. Restrepo, who in some houses found as many as 30 toucan beaks, adds to his criticism of the explanation made by Reclus: "No es natural que en familias tan poco numerosas como lo son aquellas, haya habido hasta treinta defunciones en una misma casa."

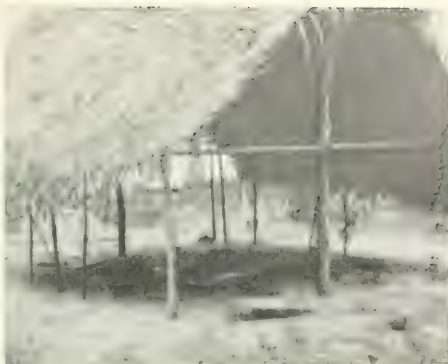


Fig. 20. Temporary shelter of the type which the Cuna make while gathering coconuts on islands far from home. Molinuntup.

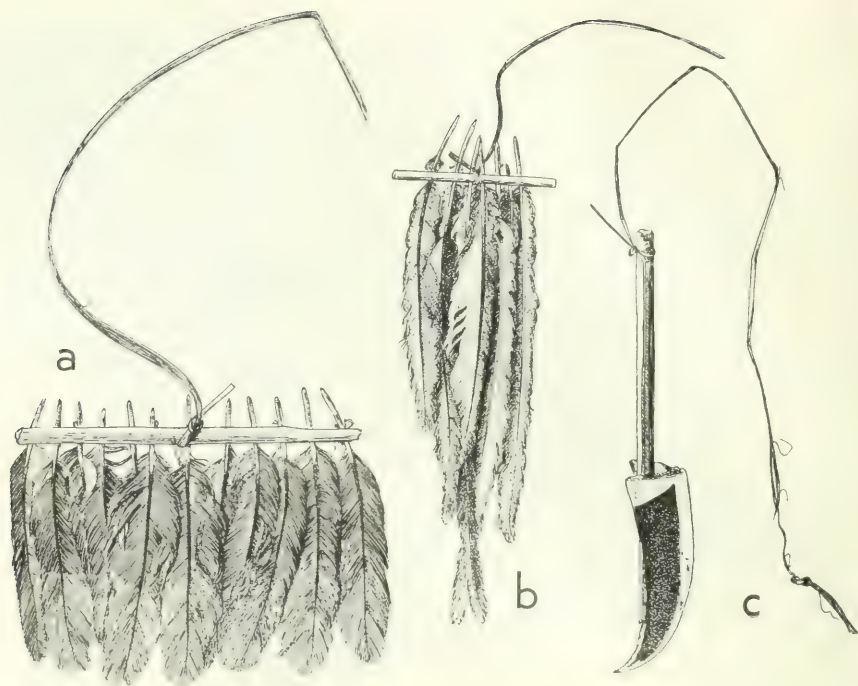


Fig. 21. Feather gear and bird's beaks were hung in great numbers below the roof of 1st chief Manitinali's house at R. Caimán Nuevo. *a*, Cat. No. 47.21.14, the length of the peg is 18 cms; *b*, 47.21.15, and *c*, 47.21.13, length 23 cms.

Caimán Nuevo, and there was no difficulty at all in acquiring samples of these for the Gothenburg Ethnographical Museum and others for the Bogotá collection. Also in the house belonging to the father of the young Indian, Juan Arteaga, there were several feather bunches of this type under the roof, and when, during the night between June 22 and 23, we took part in a special celebration in the house of the second chief, Julio Marín, I observed several feather bunches hanging there too. An Indian named Julio Uribe Cabiria at this occasion told me that the feathers and beaks were simply kept to enable the Indians to count the number of birds of a certain kind killed during a certain time. I am, however, not quite sure of the correctness of this explanation.

The special celebration referred to above was a "congress" (*on-makket*) which Holmer and the author had a special opportunity to attend. As parts of this celebration also have bearing on the old

customs and traditions of the Cuna, a description of it should be included in this chapter.

The place of the *on-makket* was the house of the second chief of the Cuna at Caimán Nuevo, Julio Marín, whose Indian name I do not have. The house (fig. 22) was very big and, according to the Indians, this was also the reason why the "congress" was held there and not in the house of the first chief which was too small for such a purpose.



Fig. 22. The meeting house at R. Caimán Nuevo, Colombia, seen from the short side with one of the entrances. The house belongs to 2d chief Julio Marín.

When we, accompanied by the young Indian "secretary" Juan Arteaga, and our Negro cook, arrived at the "congress" house on June 22 at 5 P. M., we were kindly received by the second chief who had on his head a *kuukinmola*, a special kind of head band for men. The illustration in fig. 23 gives a plan of how the house was disposed during the meeting.

The visitors were invited to sit down on the benches for the men and we took our seats on the places marked with *H* (for Holmer) and *W* (for Wassén). The Negro cook stayed close to the door.

When the first chief arrived about 6 o'clock P. M., he immediately took his place in one of the hammocks (1), the second chief taking his seat in the other hammock (2). Between the chiefs, one in front of them and one behind them, two *arhala's*¹⁾ or interpreting officials, took place on ordinary stools (3). On three benches next to the hammocks the women lined up and the men on three other benches close to the walls of the house. Among the men there were four "policemen" or *sualipet*, their places marked in the drawing with an x in the circle (4). Counting both chiefs, there was a total of 30 Indian men and 21 women attending the meeting. All the men sitting on the benches had canes in their hands. Several of them wore special ornaments.

¹⁾ Sometimes associated with the Spanish *alcabala*.

such as necklaces, and some of them were heavily painted with blue-black and red.¹⁾ One of the *arkala*'s was painted on both nose and chin. All had pants and generally white shirts; one had a modern striped jacket. The women were all nicely dressed in clean and new *molás*. They wore necklaces, and breast ornaments and constricting wristlets and anklets of colored glass beads. All women had their nose rings, but none of them had those big golden ear discs which are seen in San Blas. The gold ornaments here were simple, and worn by the boys only.

Before commencing the ceremony some of the women presented cups with *inna* (chicha) made of *matun* (plátano), and first the two chiefs, then the *arkala*'s and other officials, and finally the common men, were served. The Swedish visitors got nothing, neither did the Negro cook.

The chiefs began to sing in a nasal tone at 6:30 P. M. The first chief began and the second chief answered, "*tekie*," in a very drawn-out tone, which equals the Spanish "*así es*," 'so is it', and then proceeded. When he stopped singing, the first chief started again. During the song the chiefs were reclining in the hammocks, and now and then both they and the other men were presented *inna* by the attending women, who had a considerable quantity of the liquor in three large chicha vessels (*inna mette*) in one of the corners.

In this way the two chiefs were singing until midnight, when the two *arkala*'s assumed the task of explaining what had been said before in the archaic language used by the chiefs. The chiefs then continued again and the whole performance was not finished until 7:30 A. M. next morning. During the last hours, two of the *sualipet* officials also took part in the singing, and after them one of the *arkala*'s gave a speech advising the audience. Even some of the women, who had been very silent during the night, now started to

¹⁾ *Jagua*, *Genipa americana* L., and *rucú*, *Bixa Orellana* L., respectively. The Cuna designation for *jagua*, from which they get their black dye, is *saptur* (or *sichi*), and for *rucú* or *achiote*, from which they get the red dyestoff (*makepa*) the designation is *nisal(a)*. Small children may now and then be seen painted all over the body with the blue-black *jagua*. This, I was told, was a remedy for itch ('*sarna del piel*'). The Cuna at Bayano always paint the skin between the toes with *jagua*, which, according to my informant, is a method supposed to prevent the corrosive effects of the water on the skin. I think this practice also better explains why the Cuna sometimes paint their feet with *saptur*. According to Nordenskiöld (CES 10, p. 417) "it is to make themselves invisible to snakes."

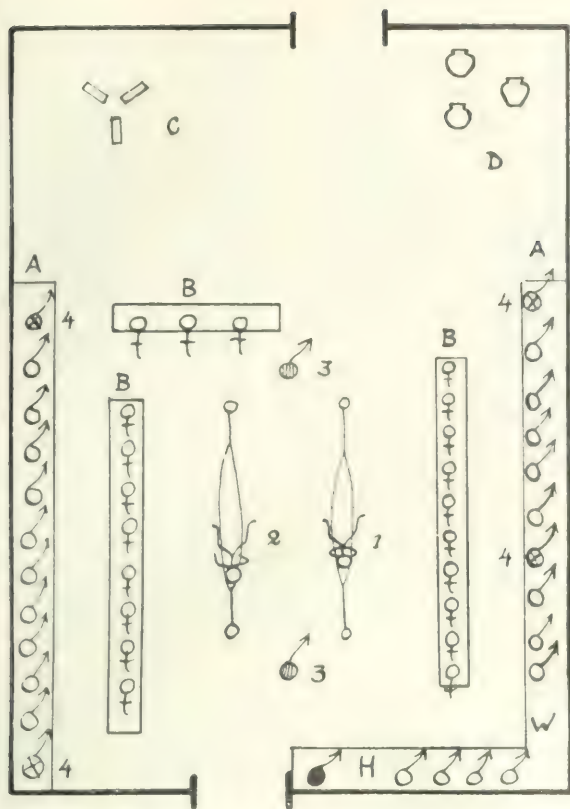


Fig 23. Seating of functionaries and partakers during the meeting at R. Caimán Nuevo.

A Outer seats for men.

B Seats for women.

C Fireplace.

D Chicha vessels.

1. First chief. 2. Second chief. 3. *Arkala's*. 4. *Sualipel's*. H = Holmer.

W = Wassén; at the entrance the negro cook.

speak. It was also the women who, after having repeated their *nate* ('good-by') to everyone of the men, first left the meeting house (*onmakketneka*) to return to their homes, generally in small groups.

As the melody of the song speeches are quite monotonous the Indians practice several methods of keeping awake. One is to do some kind of work, such as plaiting baskets, firefans, etc., which was done by the men, or sewing new *molas*, by the women. Another means of keeping the audience awake is now and then practiced by

the "policemen," who keep on shouting "*Nue palittomaloe kapitamarke*," which is explained as "listen well, do not fall asleep!"

Next to me a young Indian named Julio Uribe Cabiria was sitting and upon my request he gave some information as to the contents of the songs. It was a matter of tribal history as well as of good advice. Thus my informant told me that in one of the songs the chiefs were singing about an old country that the Indians had left long ago, and a description of that old tribal home was also said to be made in the song. This detail seems to me very interesting if we remember what was said above about the Darien origin of the Eastern Cuna.

In another song it was said that the women (in the song called *tutu* 'flower') took good care of the chiefs, and that the chiefs took good care of their women. "That's because we do not want diseases among our women." This special song, according to my informant Julio, was recited for the very reason that there had been some severe cases of sickness in the tribe which was a disturbing fact for all of them.

As a memory of an *innakopet* (a girl's maturity feast) held there a week before, the house was still decorated with two painted tablets of *balsa* wood. On one of them small calabash cups (*noka*) were hanging on pegs of *chonta* palm. Both tablets, which had the same motifs (see fig. 24 *f* and 25), were acquired for the collections in Bogotá and Gothenburg (cf. p. 113).

Meetings of the kind described above (*onmakket*), the Indians

Fig. 24. Objects from the Cuna Indians of Panama and Colombia.

a-b, Wooden figures (*mimmisuara*) used for the magical curing of diseases. Tigre. (47.19.8, 148 cms., and 47.19.10, 105 cms.); *c*, *Suarnuchu*, wooden figure in the shape of a woman and snake. Narganá-Yantup. (47.19.14, 66 cms.); *d*, Female figure of *balsa*-wood. Was placed, along with a number of other figures, at a site where an Indian house was burned down. R. Caimán Nuevo. (47.21.35, 63 cms.); *e*, Wooden figure, *nuchu*, used in magic. Tigre. (47.19.7, 29 cms.); *f*, Board of *balsa* wood with pictography, see p. 50. On the pegs fastened into the board little calabash ladles with a handle are hung. R. Caimán Nuevo. (47.21.3 a-m, 135 cms.). *g*, Toy rattle. Ustupu. (47.19.44, 21.5 cms.). *h*, Planting stick from a field on the R. Narganá. Used for planting maize, whereat four seeds are placed in holes about 10 cms. deep. (47.19.24, 103 cms.); *i*, Wooden paint cup for painting with *Genipa Americana*. R. Caimán Nuevo. (47.21.10, 8 cms.); *j*, Wooden twin seat. Narganá. (47.19.16, 34 cms.); *k-m*, Fishing arrows of different types. Narganá-Nusatup. (47.19.31-33, about 150 cms.); *n*, Blowgun of mangrove with a small arrow for hunting birds. Narganá. (47.19.34 a-b, 107 and 30 cms.); *o*, Blowgun in three sections with clay pellets. Belonged to a twelve-year-old boy at R. Caimán Nuevo. (47.21.18, 69 cms.); *p*, Archaeological spindle-whorl of clay. Found by the chief of Ailigandi Ikwaniktipippi on R. Arquia in Colombia in 1941. (47.20.1, 3.4 cms. in diameter).





Fig. 25. Painted board of *balsa* from R. Caimán Nuevo, Colombia. Acquired for the *Instituto Etnológico*, Bogotá. See fig. 24 f for the drawing of a similar board acquired for the Gothenburg Ethnographical Museum.

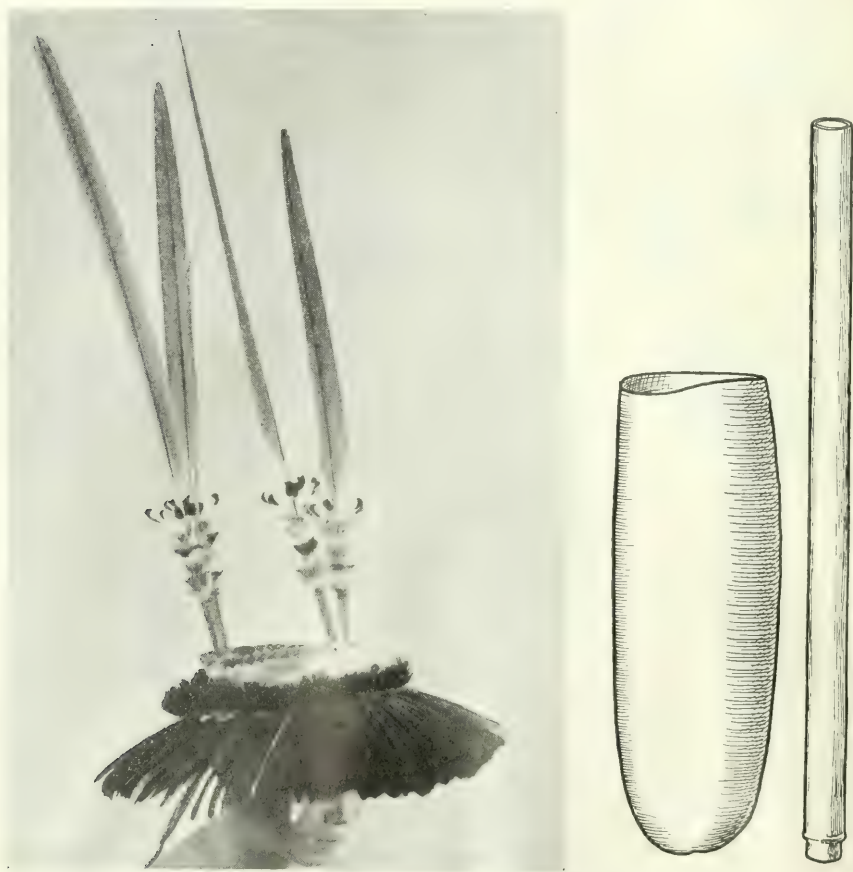


Fig. 26. *Kantule* hat originally belonging to the 2d chief, Julio Marín, and the calabash and bamboo cases, for the feathers. Cat. Nos., hat 47.21.30 a, height with feathers 89 cms., calabash case, 47.21.30 b, length 37.5 cms., bamboo case, 47.21.30 c, length 57 cms. R. Caimán Nuevo, Colombia.

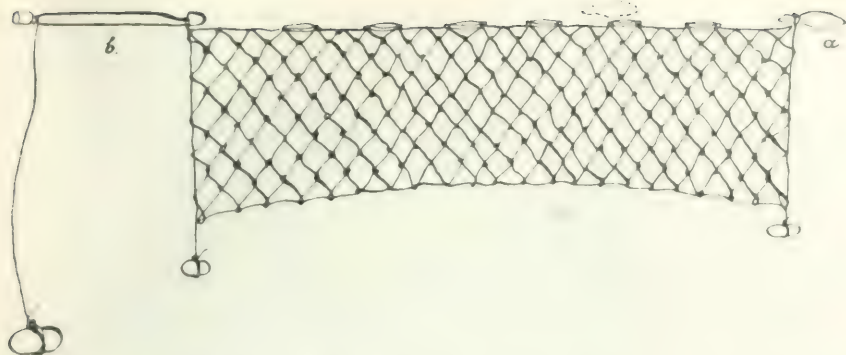


Fig. 27. Turtle net (*morosakki*). The net (Cat. No. 47.19.37 a-c) is 410×575 cms. It is used for catching *testuga doll* etc. for the hunting of which the most favorable season is from the end of April till the end of June. The turtles come to the wooden decoy turtle (a) at the end of the net, where they easily get entangled and roll over in the net toward the float of balsa wood (b). If a particularly long net is used, an extra float or "deadhead" is placed at the end where the decoy turtle is, which is then placed a bit further in on the net (the dotted figure).

said, were held several times a year. Thanks to the technique of using continuous repetitions certain historical traditions and incidents of tribal lore are passed on from the older to the younger generation. For a European, the Indian way of speaking during the meeting sounds almost like chanting. Oviedo uses the word *areyto*, which,



Fig. 28. A, Canoe of *manta* type on the beach of Nargana Yantup, used for river traffic, and B, canoe of the same type on the Río Caimán Nuevo, Colombia.



Fig. 29. Cuna men at Río Caimán Nuevo, in typical festive array, on the morning after the "congress" described on page 47.

however, at least when speaking about the island of Española, he combines with dancing as well.¹⁾ Speaking about the province of Cueva, however, he expressly states that the songs were held at night and that the *areytos* of the Cueva were "*sus letras ó memoriales.*"²⁾ There can be very little doubt that in the nocturnal singing meetings of the modern Cuna we still have a survival of the old Cueva custom of "*tractar cantando,*" to speak with Oviedo.

Stout, 1947, p. 13, mentions the interior groups of the Panamanian Cuna as *Yalatola* 'Mountain or South people', that is to say, those who live on the Upper Bayano, and *Walatola*, 'Curves-of-the-River people,³⁾ that is to say, those who live on the headwaters of the Chucunaque river. "Another group, the *Payatola* (Snake people?),"⁴⁾

¹⁾ Oviedo, Tomo I, Lib. V, Cap. I, p. 127: "Tenian estas gentes una buena é gentil manera de memorar las cosas passadas é antiguas; y esto era en sus cantares é bayles, que ellos llaman *areyto*, que es lo mismo que nosotros llamamos baylar cantando."

²⁾ Oviedo, Tomo III, Lib. XXIX, Cap. XXVIII, p. 137.

³⁾ *Wala* is the Indian name of a great many rivers and of the corresponding inhabitants; hence *walatola* (from *wala*, as in *tiwala* 'river') would merely be a designation for 'river people'.

⁴⁾ *Paya* is no doubt the same as *Pae*, a form often given by the Indians. As for the meaning 'snake people', we have no information.



Fig. 30. Toward the end of the dry season, the smoke ascends from the burning of the clearings along the mainland shore. Photo taken from Narganá Yantup of the opposite mainland.

lives among the Paya, Pucro, and Capeti Rivers, all tributaries of the Tuira River. This group numbered 180 persons in 1933 and since then has decreased rapidly and is now almost extinct" (Stout, 1947, p. 13).

It is clear that of all Cuna groups the large tribe of San Blas is at present moment in many respects the leading unit, and in a near future the remnants of the more primitive Cuna culture in the interior of the country is liable to become absorbed by San Blas, which latter is subject to continual and accelerated acculturation. According to a census of 1943, as Pérez Kantule tells us, there were 16,000 Cuna Indians living between Obaldia and Porvenir.¹⁾

The economic basis for the maintenance of the Indians is most favorable on the islands. During World War II much Indian man power was drawn from the islands to the Canal Zone, where the Indians made good earnings. As a matter of fact, so many Indians at that time left San Blas temporarily that there was occasional danger of food shortage, as there was not a sufficient number of men

¹⁾ In *Censo de población de Panamá*, vol. X, *Compendio General* (Panamá 1945), it is unfortunately impossible to obtain exact information as to the number of the Indian population, in any case the Cuna. Many data of this official census, as far as the Indians are concerned, are manifestly erroneous, as when it is said, for instance, on p. 47 that the Choco Indians have a *hlo* or *neh* as supreme chief, etc. This is simply due to confusion of such culturally widely separate tribes as the Cuna and the Chocó.



Fig. 31. Log bridge on the Indian trail on the mainland opposite Narganá. On the log Rubén Pérez Kantule.



Fig. 32. Newly planted corn field. Río Narganá, San Blas.

left to take care of the plantations on the mainland (figs. 30-34).¹⁾ According to Pérez Kantule, the Bayano Indians even renounced their isolation and started to work for the white people.

At the time of our stay among the San Blas Cuna, I could even notice that Indians from the interior of the country were working

1) In 1947, the most important of the commonly cultivated food plants of the San Blas Cuna were the following: Maize, *apa*; coconuts, *okofia*; plantains and bananas (many kinds), *masi*; sugar cane, *sukal*; cacao, *sia*; *yuka dulce*, *mama*; yam (*Yam*, *okkup/pu*) *aka* (*Xanthosoma* *akaka* Schott according to Standley, 1928, p. 105). The Cuna name for this plant with edible tuberous roots is *tarkwa* (Puig, 1944, p. 122, *tarkwa*).

The Indians further cultivated mamey, *masumi*; alligator pear, *aswe* (the cultivation of this fruit was said to be difficult); Indian mango, *manku*; star apple (Span. *caimito*), *ak*; guaba (*Psidium* *Guava* Radlk), *kulup* (this "guaba grande" according to Puig, 1944, p. 74); chili (Span. *aji*), *kua* or *kapiu*; garlic, *aku*; orange (Span. *naranja*), *nara* (*a*); lime (Span. *limón*), *nara* *pauu* (according to Puig, 1944, p. 97); pineapple, *osi*; rice (Span. *arroz*), *arwa* (very little); cashew nut (Span. *manihot*), *karipinu*; papaw (Span. *papaya*), *kwarkwat* (*ta*).

The principal plants cultivated by the Eastern Cuna at R. Caimán Nuevo (in 1947) were maize, plantains, cacao (now a bad quality because of plant sickness), sugar cane, *yuka dulce* (very little), *hamu* (very little), *arwa* *arwa* (little), bananas, and coconuts (very little).



Fig. 33. Rubén Pérez Kantule demonstrates four moments in the act of lifting and carrying by means of the carrying pole.

for their countrymen on the coast as wage earners. They got 25 cents an hour for helping with such work as clearance of coconut plantations, etc. Five months before our arrival in San Blas, that is to say, in the latter part of 1946, the Indians of Wala (Upper Chucunaque) had moved to join the Bayano people. According to my informant, Pérez Kantule, a certain chief had told and warned the Indians that the Americans were to build a new canal through their country. An important reason for the movement to the coast and for the intensified contact with their kinsmen is, however, of an economic nature. Formerly, the Wala Indians undertook long



Fig. 34. Scene from the mainland plantations on the Río Narganá, San Blas. Bent stems of coconut trees serve to mark the boundary between the lots of different owners. Stout, 1946, p. 70, says that "boundaries are marked by rows of trees or plants or by marks on trees."

journeys—selling cacao and coffee at Yavisa in Darien. This was no more possible (for reasons unknown to me), and so the Indians found themselves without money. Now they are able to earn about 3 dollars a day on the coast, by working twelve hours from morning till night. Formerly a day's earning was 50 cents.¹⁾

The opportunities for the San Blas Cuna to earn plenty of money during the war by working in Panama and the Canal Zone had as one

¹⁾ Cf. Stout, 1947, p. 74: "Though the Cuna insist that economically they are all equal and point to their similar foodstuffs, houses, etc., to "prove" it, the wealth of some men is increasing rapidly as others become poorer almost in direct proportion, and many of the latter work for men with large holdings by the day at a fixed wage to eke out their incomes."



Fig. 35. "Warkuna," a motor boat owned by Indians of Carti.
Photographed at Porvenir.

of its consequences not only a shortage of men to take care of the Indian plantations at home but also an increase in the prices of Indian products for sale among the Indians. As an example of this may be mentioned the increase in the prices of Cuna canoes of the sea-going type made of *Anacardium excelsum* (Span. *espavé*, Cuna *pinnuwala*). Before the war, the price of a big canoe was thirty dollars and for a smaller one twenty. During the war, an Indian visiting his native island with a couple of hundred dollars saved promptly paid fifty dollars for a canoe, which he absolutely wanted. The increase in prices of canoes then continued and was at its maximum in 1947, viz. about one hundred dollars for a good canoe.

The increase in prices of coconuts during World War II has been treated by Stout, 1947, p. 24 and p. 73 sqq. It may, however, be added that in the spring of 1947 the traders from Colon did not want to pay more than five cents apiece when buying the coconuts on the Indian islands.¹⁾ As Colombian traders paid a little more,

¹⁾ The Indians got 5 cents apiece when selling the coconuts to the cooperative stores at the time of our stay at Narganá. Something quite new was a women's charity society at Narganá. The women were supposed to deliver at least four coconuts weekly and the stock was successively sold to the traders (see fig. 36). An Indian teacher, Fulvia Soo, wife of Francisco Soo, secretary general of the chiefs of San Blas, was accountant. According to what she told us, the income from selling the society's coconuts was used for helping widows, poor children, etc. She even said that at Christmas 1946 the said society had been using a kind of Christmas tree in front of the house where the nuts used to be collected.

the Indians naturally preferred to sell their nuts to them. This price war had resulted in temporarily worse traveling facilities between the islands and Colon, as very few trading boats went to San Blas. The Cuna, however, could master this situation to a certain degree by transporting people and goods with community-owned boats. Stout, 1947, p. 75, says that "between 1935 and 1940 each of four islands have purchased a boat, for which each man was levied an equal share." In 1947, probably due to the economic boom during World War II, the number of Indian-owned boats with Indian crews had increased to four at Cartí and one at each of the following places: Narganá, Tigre, Niatup, and Playón chico. The name of the boat belonging to Narganá was "Progreso," which according to Pérez Kantule had thirty owners. One of the boats from Cartí was named "Warkuna,"

which according to the Indian Napoleón Hayans was the name of one of the famous old chiefs. As we had several opportunities to see the "Progreso" and even to travel with the "Warkuna" (fig. 35) it gives me pleasure to state that the Indian boats, as might be expected, were both clean and comparatively safe to travel on, which hardly can be said of all the crafts in those waters.

The problem of the origin and migrations of the Cuna seems to be of a certain practical interest to the Indians themselves. Educated representatives of the tribe now and then use their "historical" knowledge to call special attention to, *e. g.*, their claims to enlargement of the reservation, etc. In order to show how difficult it is for them to get out of the jungle of oral and often confusing



Fig. 36. *Mola*-clad woman hurrying down to deliver coconuts to a trading boat. Narganá-Yantup.

tribal information, I have chosen to include as Appendix I to this chapter a document written by Juan Colman in which this Indian asks for the Government's acknowledgement of the Cuna rights to property.

The second appendix, written by Guillermo Haya, reflects in a mythological manner the fights between the Cuna and other tribes, which are classified by the author as barbarous and uncivilized.

Appendix I

Origin of the Cuna Indians

(Native Record)

Title of the Original Document (GEM 47.19.67): "*El Origen de los indios Cunas y porque hoy piden las reservas.*"

Note. This document comprises two ink-written pages. The name of the author is not given but the hand as well as the paper and ink are the same as those in the document catalogued as 47.19.68 (published as appendix 3 to chapter 4), whose author is Juan Colman, for which reason I consider him also to be the author of the document published here.

For better understanding the text has been translated from a rather incorrect Spanish. The first part of the document has been omitted, being of no special interest.

"The first Indian *neles*¹⁾ lived in the mountains of *Takarkunyala*.²⁾ They were named *Tulikana*³⁾ and *Kwittar* (? , MS. *Cuiddar*), and they encountered half-human tribes along the *Kak(k)irwala* which now belongs to Darien.

"Nele *Tulikana* traveled among all the tribes of the mountains and *Kwittar* along the coast and on the islands. The first village that he (*Tulikana*?) visited (MS. *adonde piso*) was Río *Tukkes*,⁴⁾ where he met the *Tukkestulekan* Indians. Then he passed on, to the *Tupkanti* river where the *Tup(p)o* (*Tuppu*, MS. *Tupos*) Indians lived. He stayed one year among them to teach them how to live. Later on he came to the *Sokupli* river (MS. *Sogubli*; *so(o)* — flame) where the *Candelas*

¹⁾ MS. explains '*adivinos*'.

²⁾ See Wassén, 1938, p. 13 and map in fig. 9.

³⁾ Tuile? Cf. Wassén, 1938, p. 13.

⁴⁾ MS. *Tuques*. An affluent to the Chucunaque river.

(Span.) Indians lived. He gave it the name Sokupti because he saw flames in the river.

"He then passed to river *Merti*, which signifies the spots that mosquitos leave on one's body.

"*Wala*. When he came to this river he found several plantations of tobacco that have the same name.¹⁾

"River *Kanupli*. This name has its origin in that he found many fishes of the same name there.

"River *Narkanti*. Here the Indians *Nartule* (the *Nala* people) lived.

"River *Matunkanti*. The Plantain river. It was found that many plantains were cultivated here.

"River *Chico*. Here lived the *Chicks* (Indians). When Tulikana came to this river he went in a *piragua* to the *Ipeticala* (MS. *The Tinala*) river, an affluent of R. Mamoni.

"River *Tinalupkanti*. Here were found many wild *pijibacs*.²⁾

"River *Masarkanti*. This river is close to *Karti*. Here Tulikana stayed for a while, preaching and giving advice.

"Afterwards, he was followed by others to the *Momtiwala* (Mamoni) river. Upon arriving at Chepo, he joined a chief named *Tatsippu*.³⁾ Here they had much trouble fighting against the Spaniards. Because of severe epidemics in the mountains they had to settle on the coasts of Mandinga, where the Cuna increased in numbers through the generations. *Nele* Tulikana, having finished his long travels, settled permanently with his brothers in the region of *Nurlarkana*. He had many children and grandchildren and died in Mandinga when nearly 100 years old.

"His successors have followed his steps in winning freedom. The

¹⁾ *Wara* 'tobacco'.

²⁾ MS. "*pishaes silvestres*". *Pixibac*, *pijibac*, *pejivalle*, etc. (Cuna *naluþ*), a palm, *Gutierrezia utilis*?

³⁾ MS. *Tad Sipu*, *Sipu* means white. Rubén Pérez Kantule equates '*sipu*', '*chipu*' and '*chepo*'. "*Significa: blanco, nombre cariñoso dado a los indios blancos o de color moreno claro.*" In a newspaper article about the origin of the name of Chepo, published in Panama (copy of MS. GEM 47.19.55) he states that the Spaniards, about the year 1515, encountered a white (albino) chief named Chepo, and he quotes a letter by the friar Melchor Córdoba of the early 16th century: "En víspera de la navidad de nuestro Señor Jesucristo llegamos a la región del cacique Chepo; el cacique vivía cerca de la mar del sur: le oíste [le] un melancólico rojizo como amarrón y la piel blanca como la leche . . .".

Indians (of) Karti united and in the year(s) of Cristobal Colon¹⁾ they began to build their houses in the virgin regions as far as Escribano. They worked at clearing the trees, and cultivated their crops during many centuries.

"They continued fighting and later arrived at the islands of Porvenir, *Wichupwala*, *Naluneka*, *Karti*, *Mandinga* and others. At these islands, they found Spaniards with whom they had to fight, and, being victorious, the Indians settled there. These tribes were joined by others whose chief was named *Tatpole*.²⁾ According to the history of the Cuna it was Simon Bolivar who, when he came, set them free from slavery.

"Through these short narrations it has been made clear that the Cuna Indians gained all their property by spilling their blood in combat with the Spaniards and they ask the Panamanian Government to acknowledge their property rights."

Appendix 2

Cuna History

(Native Record)

Title of the Original Document (GEM. 47.19.70): "*Historia antigua de la Raza Cuna.*"

Note. The author of this document is Guillermo Haya of Ustupu. He sent it to me together with the manuscript of *Mu-Igala* (see Holmer and Wasén, 1947) and had thus been in my possession many years when I had it catalogued among the Cuna documents acquired during the 1947 expedition.

There have been no opportunities for me to discuss the contents of the text with Haya or other Cuna friends.

"The indigenous race of the territory of San Blas is called *Cuna* because the forefather's name was *Ibeorkuna*." For this reason the natives of San Blas actually call themselves Cuna Indians, *Cuna tule*.

"Fights of the Cuna (MS. *cunistas*) against the people *Akkepirtule*

¹⁾ MS. first said "*por el año de 1495*" which has been corrected to "*por el año de Cristobal Colon.*"

²⁾ MS. not clear. *Tatpop*, *Tatpap*?

(MS. *Acquebirtule*), *Pukipukitule* (MS. *Puqui-puquitule*), *Payanatule* and *Kozeptule* (MS. *Cobeptule*):

"Formerly the Cuna people (MS. "*las gentes cunistas*") lived in a place called *Akwapirmai* (MS. *Acuabir-mai*).¹ Furthermore, there lived other tribes in places called *Puarkana* and *Ukupneka*.² The largest habitation of this time among these tribes was *Puarkana*, where they lived, ruled by their chief.

"During that time, however, there lived different classes of very savage Indians in the mountains. These Indians were very different from the Cuna and had very different customs. They were barbarians and slept "*quintadas debajo del quijada*."³ There were, however, many tribes and some of them lived under the big rocks in the woods.

"These barbarous peoples always visited the Cuna when the latter celebrated their feasts. Gradually they began to maltreat the Cuna, taking away the Cuna women and killing the fathers. There was no one to help the Cuna. Each time they had a feast the others came stealing the women and taking them away to the jungle.

"As there was no one to protect the Cuna one of the men wanted to flee out in the jungle to live quietly where he couldn't be molested by the others. This Indian went away with his wife, a daughter and a grown-up daughter⁴ and built his house at a river bank.

"After a few days, the man went with his wife to the other side of the river to plant yuca. The grown-up daughter was left alone in the house and she went to bathe in the morning. While bathing in the river she saw something like a fire coming down from above and the fire went inside the house. Upon seeing this, the girl returned immediately to the house to find out what had entered there.

"When the girl came to the door she saw a young man sitting in the house. He had his arrows with him and he was calling on her. Then the young man copulated with her in the house. After this he returned to the place he came from but first he told the girl that he was going to visit her again in two days when her father went out to do his planting work again. This the youth did, visiting and

¹ Place in Darien. See mythological map, fig. 9 in Wassén, 1938.

² MS. hard to understand. Haya puts it "*además de eso vivían en otros tribus se llamaba Puargana y Ukupneka*." These must be place names.

³ These words I have not been able to explain.

⁴ MS. "*ella tenía una hija y una hija y una hija y una hija*."

sleeping with the girl a second time. Then he departed, never to come back again.

"After a few months the father noticed that the young daughter was pregnant but as there was no youth around the father wanted to investigate and find out from his daughter who was the father of the child. The girl answered that a young man had come down twice from heaven to sleep with her.

"Soon afterwards the Indian returned to live in his main village *Puarkana* where he found the villagers still plagued by the Indians from the jungle.

"Some months later the girl gave birth to a boy. He grew very quickly and when still quite young he could speak very well. He began to advise his people from the village and the villagers accepted the words of the boy with pleasure. He told them that in order to defend themselves and the village they should collect the arrows, *nasi*. With these arrows they could remain quiet without any troubles. The people did as he told them and fought strongly against the wild Indians."

CHAPTER 2

The Cuna Indian Island Names

During our stay at Narganá, I acquired a pencil-written document from Rubén Pérez Kantule, comprising a list of names of the islands in the San Blas archipelago, no less than 272 names being mentioned, yet with some repetitions.¹⁾ The original (Cat. No. 47.19.65 a) was written by Francisco Soo, who at the time of our visit had the impressive title of Secretary General for the chiefs of San Blas and was brother of Felipe Soo, chief of Narganá-Nusatúp.

I had occasion to copy the list on the spot in order to discuss every name. The list is published below in normalized spelling in collaboration with Holmer.

Since no Indians appear to have lived permanently on the islands before the Cuna moved there, most of the names are, as one may expect, characteristically Cuna. It would be desirable to have these Cuna names preserved without unnecessary changes and substitutions of rather colorless Spanish names, such as, Corazón de Jesús instead of Nusatúp, one of Narganá islands.

In other respects, the general character of the names is typically Indian, in the sense that they have not yet become true geographical names, but are rather to be understood as appellatives. Hence they are in most cases easily analyzable as to signification, and hence also the many cases of identical names for different islands. An official toponymy has not yet been evolved.

1) *Porvenir*. This island was formerly called *Kaikihon*; Cf. the MS 47.19.67, where it also says that it was named for a certain chief who lived there.

2) *Wichupuala*: the long coco plum (*Wichuppu*, Sp. *ucaco*) island.

³⁾ Pérez told me that there are 330 islands in the San Blas Archipelago: the larger number of them to the west of Narganá. Stout (1947, p. 13) counts with "about 375 islands."

3. *Naluneka*: The *Nalu*-island (*Nalu* is either — as probably here — the name of a fish or of a species of macaw; A connection with *nalup*, a certain palm, is not impossible).
4. *Wichuptup tummat*: The large coco plum island (cf. No. 2).
5. *Wichuptup pippi*: the little coco plum island.
6. *Ukkupsipu*: The white sand.
7. *Okopsiputup*: The white-coconut island.
8. *Yansailatup*: (Probably) the island of the head of the peccary.
9. *Panetup*: The *pane* island. (*Pane* is described as a seabird, like a big swallow).
10. *Achutup*: The dog island.
11. *Nuknuktup*: The *Nuknuk* island. (This means a kind of fan and is probably — according to Pérez — the name of a plant from which these are made).
12. *Misutup*: The cat island. (*Misi* 'cat' is like the Mexican *mizton*, etc., derived from Spanish *miz*; cf. No. 10).
13. *Tapkalatup*: The heron island.
14. *Masarkantup*: The island of *masala*, Sp. *caña brava*, a cane; Cf. Wassén, 1940, p. 137-139 for *viruli*.
15. *Korkitup*: The pelican island.
16. *Niatup*: The island of the evil spirit (*nia*).
17. *Achutuppippi*: The little dog island.
18. *Waksailatup* (*Waisalitup*): The island of the white man's head (*waka* head). Cf. Wassén, 1938, p. 24.
19. *Kwitup*: The mosquito island.
20. *Iskartup*: The island of the *iskali* (a small iguana). This animal is supposed to have brought the fire to the Indians (Wassén, 1937, p. 27, The Jaguar and the Fire).
21. *Kwasirtup*: The island of sandpipers (Span. *gallineta de agua* or *júlica*).
22. *Koletup*: The periwinkle (Span. *caracol*) island.
23. *Nukarwechurtuppu*: The island of *Nukarwechur*, a mythical animal, commonly identified with the elephant.
24. *Tiatup*: The island of the water hole or well.
25. *Miryatup*: The tarpon-hole island.
26. *Kakantup*: The grass island.
27. *Nitirpitup*: The devilfish island.
28. *Okopsiputup*: See No. 7.
29. *Aritup*: The iguana island.
30. *Achueltup*: The fishhook island (from Span. *anzuelo*).
31. *Ikkotup*: The island of *ikko*, a species of *caña brava*. See No. 14.
32. *Naipetup*: The snake island.
33. *Taptup*: The boa constrictor island.
34. *Sukkinkwatup*: The island of *sukkinkwa* (a little red crab).
35. *Warsotup*: The island of *warso* (according to Pérez, a plant of the islands).
36. *Nurtup*: The guava island.

37. *Tupmattar*: The flat island.
38. *Karta*: Originally the name of the mainland settlement. One of the islands in the present-day Carti (the river of bones?) was formerly called *Mulatup* 'the gallinazo island'.
39. *Suktup*: The crab island.
40. *Yantup*: The peccary island.
41. *Tuppil*: According to Pérez, "isla oblicua"(?).
42. *Mammitup*: The mamey island.
43. *Orpiski*: The round, rugged (island)?
44. *Kwikalatup*: According to Pérez, mosquito island.
45. *Werwertup*: The toucan (*werwere*) island.
46. *Aritup*: See No. 29.
47. *Tuppor*: The round island.
48. *Nuknuktup*: See No. 11.
49. *Upikantup*: According to Pérez, "una planta enredada como bejuco."
50. *Tupwala*: The long island.
51. *Orostup*: The rice island (Cuna *oros* from Span. *arroz*).
52. *Ailitup*: The mangrove island.
53. *Naraskantup tummat*: The big orange (or lemon) island.
54. *Naraskantup pippi*: The little orange (or lemon) island.
55. *Akkwatup*: The rock island.
56. *Nonomullu*: The head point (island).
57. *Kwanitup tummat*: The big ? island.
58. *Kwanitup pippi*: The little ? island.
59. *Tupasunikkat*: The island which has a nose (*asu*).
60. *Naraskantup pippi*: see No. 54.
61. *Mermakketup*: The island where turtles (*more*) are hunted (*makka*).
62. *Soledad*: This island was also called *Upikantup* = The dust island.
63. *Piltantup*: Victor's island. The Cuna pronounce Victor as *piltor*; formerly called *Akkwatariama*. According to Pérez, "piedra quebrada" (cf. the mountain name *Akkwatalekun yala*, Holmer and Wassén, 1947, p. 47: 245).
64. *Naraskantup tummat*: See No. 53.
65. *Pukhaktup*: The macaw island (*pukhukka* is a species of guacamayo, according to Pérez, a black bird in the forest).
66. *Korkitup*: The pelican (*korki*) island.
67. *Ukkupsui*: The long sand.
68. *Manisuartup*: The *manisuar* island; according to Pérez, *manisuar* is the name of a plant.
69. *Achutup*: See No. 10.
70. *Ukkupyal*: Probably in the sand. If so, this would be an example of a locative place name; this type is common for instance, in Mexico, e. g., Mitla (Mictlan), Tecpan, Michoacan. (See Holmer, 1948, p. 23 sqq.). Pérez on the other hand, understands the name to mean *poco de arena*, taking the last component to be the word *yaikwa* 'a little'.

71. *Sallartup*: According to Pérez, the first part is the name of a bird.
72. *Suipirtup*: The crab island (from *sukpili* 'a river crab').
73. *Panetup*: See No. 9.
74. *Miryatup*: See No. 25.
75. *Wariatup*: The yam (*waria*) island. Pérez corrected this to *Kwaryatup* = a bird which was said to eat crabs.
76. *Iskintup*: The lizard (*iskin*) island.
77. *Nusatup*: The rat island.
78. *Rio Cidra*: Probably R. Cedro.
79. *Tupsuit*: The long (*suitti*) island.
80. *Napup*: The calabash island (*napa* is a fruit of *napawala* = *Crescentia*).
81. *Morpeptup*: The conch island (*morpepe* is the name of a kind of trumpet-shell).
82. *Sichirtup* or *Chichirtup*: The ant island (from *sichiri* 'little black ant').
83. *Akkwatup*: See No. 55.
84. *Matunnunutup*: The island of the rotting plantain (from *matunnu* = plantain and *nunu* = smelling, especially of decaying plants).
85. *Narpakantup*: According to Pérez, from the name of a plant.
86. *Nupepsiputup*: According to Pérez, the island of the pigeon with a white forehead. (Pigeon = *nuu*, forehead = *pepe*, white = *sipu*).
87. *Esnastup*: The anchor island.
88. *Panetup*: See No. 9.
89. *Korkitup*: See No. 66.
90. *Upkikantup*: See No. 49.
91. *Waksailatup*: See No. 18.
92. *Kannirtup*: The hen island (from *kannila* or *kannira* 'domestic fowl', probably originally the name of a similar native bird).
93. *Kwikalatup*: See No. 44.
94. *Saputup tummat*: The big toad island (from Span. *sapo*).
95. *Saputup pippi*: The little toad island.
96. *Tupsailakinnit(t)up*: The island of the red head (from *saila* 'head or hair' and *kinnitti* 'red').
97. *Sukar*: From Span. *azucar*.
98. *Akkwatarkana*: See No. 63.
99. *Okoppirya*: The coconut eddy.
100. *Okopsiputup*: See No. 28.
101. *Tupsolmullu tummat*: The big island of the roundish or protruding posterior (from *sola* 'posterior' and *mullu* 'roundish and bulging').
102. *Tupsolmullu pippi*: The little island, etc. See No. 101.
103. *Urwannunutup*: The island of the rotting *urwa*-plant (*Calathea insignis*).
104. *Tupporo*: The round island. Cf. No. 47.
105. *Sintup*: The pig island (from *sina* 'pig').
106. *Iskartup*: See No. 20.
107. *Uksitup*: The armadillo island.
108. *Rio Azúcar*: A village near Narganá. Cf. No. 97.
109. *Arítup*: See No. 29.

110. *Suktup*: The crab island.
111. *Kuseptup*: The passion-flower island (*kusepa* = Span. *granadilla*).
112. *Tapualva*: The island of the *tapuala* hole (from *tapuala* or *tapa*, the name of a fish in local Span. *picua*). Cf. No. 25.
113. *Nukarwechurtup*: See No. 23.
114. *Narganá*: In our days the name Narganá is used for the islands of *Yantup* (peccary island) and *Nusatup* (rat island) jointly, which are connected by a bridge built by the Indians. The former island is now more officially called Narganá, the latter, Corazón de Jesús. In former times, according to the map (CES 10, fig. 4), *Nargana* or *Nadigana* was a name of a river opposite the islands, in all probability the Río Diablo. Next to it, a smaller river called *Nargandi* is marked. This makes it extremely likely that the old settlement of Narganá was situated on either of these rivers. Regarding the meaning of the names mentioned, the former two, *Nargana* (Cuna *Narkana*) and *Nadigana* (Cuna *Natkana*), designate groves of different bamboo species, viz. *naba* and *nata* (the latter used for arrow shafts); *Nargandi* (Cuna *Narkanti*) is evidently a river name.
115. *Corazón de Jesús*: See No. 114.
116. *Ustup*: The rabbit island (from *usu* 'agouti').
117. *Narpakantup*: See No. 85.
118. *Akkacaptup*: According to Pérez, "piedra en ceniza" (from *akka* 'stone' and *puru* 'ashes').
119. *Namakket(t)tup*: The singing island (cf. p. 000).
120. *Waksailatup*: See No. 18.
121. *Tuppil*: See No. 41.
122. *Akkwatup*: See No. 55.
123. *Pukatup*: According to Pérez, from a certain fish.
124. *Panetup*: See No. 9.
125. *Achutup*: See No. 10.
126. *Kannirkinnittutup*: The island of the red hen (*kinnitti* designates various dark colors).
127. *Iskartup*: See No. 20.
128. *Mutup*: The island of the old woman or grandmother.
129. *Akkwatup*: See No. 55.
130. *Wichuptupwala*: The long coco plum island. Cf. No. 4.
131. *Wichuptup*: The coco plum island.
132. *Molinuntup*: The island of the rotting tapir (*moli*). Cf. No. 84.
133. *Tokirtup*: According to Pérez, from the name of a liana.
134. *Waktup* (*Waitup*): The island of the stranger (*waka*).
135. *Mistup*: See No. 12.
136. *Korkitup*: See No. 66.
137. *Parkotup*: The shell island. (Cf. CES 10, p. 650).
138. *Morotup*: The turtle island.
139. *Tiatup*: See No. 24.
140. *Olosikitup*: According to Pérez, from *Olosiki*, a man's name.

141. *Panelup*: See No. 9.
142. *Tuppirit*: According to Pérez, "isla curva." Cf. No. 205.
143. *Urkitup*: Pérez explains this name as "isla parecido al barco"; if this is correct, the form of the name should be *Urkiittup*.
144. *Olotup*: According to Pérez, "isla de oro." Since *olo* also has the meaning of 'round' (thing), a perhaps more likely explanation would be the round island. Cf. *Tuppor* (No. 47) and *Tupporo* (No. 104).
145. *Olotup tarpokwat*: For *Olotup* see No. 144. *Tarpokwa* means occurring in pairs, twins, etc. There ought to be two connected islands.
146. *Tiatup*: See No. 24.
147. *Panelup*: See No. 9.
148. *Esmettup pippi*: The little island of the iron pot (*esmette*).
149. *Morotup*: See No. 138.
150. *Uksitup*: See No. 107.
151. *Kalupir*: The walls. (According to Pérez, because of the resemblance to walls or ramparts.) *Kalu* as well as *kalupilli* are now chiefly used in mythological accounts in the sense of 'an abode of spirits' (*nia*). Originally, however, *kalu* seems to have meant a (wooden) wall, then also the house or space inclosed by such a wall. Probably *kalu* (or *kalupilli*) was the name given to the ancient Cuna 'war houses and forts' of which a description may be found in Wafer (1903, p. 146).
152. *Piryatup*: The eddy island.
153. *Kwinkwintup*: The pheasant island.
154. *Koletup*: See No. 22.
155. *Nukmuktup*: See No. 11.
156. *Ukkupsui*: See No. 67.
157. *Sipattup*: The goat island.
158. *Tup pippi*: The little island.
159. *Tup sip(p)u*: The white island.
160. *Okop pukkip*: The many coco nuts.
161. *Niakalupir*: The walls of the spirit. Cf. 151.
162. *Esnastup*: See No. 87.
163. *Miryatutup*: The island with the spring at the tarpon hole. Cf. No. 24 and 164.
164. *Mirya*: The tarpon hole. Cf. No. 25.
165. *Wichuptupwala*: See No. 130.
166. *Waksailatup*: See No. 18.
167. *Akkwatarkana*: See No. 98 and 63.
168. *Rio Tigre*: This is probably the little river inside the island of Tigre, of which the Cuna name is *Tikle* or *Tikir*.
169. *Kannilototup*: Probably the round island of the hen (*kannila*). Cf. No. 144.
170. *Iklitup*: The ant island. *Ikli* is the name of a leaf-eating ant (Span. *arriera*).
171. *Tasitup*: The fox island.
172. *Tupwala*: See No. 50.

173. *Tikantikki*: The strong water: by this is probably meant a strong current in the river (cf. *tikannat* 'current'). According to Pérez, this is now a village of three islands, of which one is *Niatup* (Cf. No. 16).
174. *Antup*: See No. 20.
175. *Urtup*: The canoe island (from *ulu* boat).
176. *U'artup p'ippi*: The little poison-tree island (from *ular* — manchineel, Span. manzanillo).
177. *Sikkwisistup*: The island of the Panama thrush (Span. *changamí*). This bird is all black and the size of magpie; it is also called *ammasele* ('old aunt').
178. *U'artup tummat*: The big poison-tree island. Cf. No. 176.
179. *Tiatup*: See No. 24.
180. *Kapes*: According to Pérez, from the name of a man; the Cuna pronunciation of Spanish *cabeza*.
181. *Appaitup*: The island of the boa (*appaki*).
182. *Okopnaka*: Near the coco nut trees. This evidently is a locative name, cf. No. 70.
183. *Kaimattartup*: The heron island. (*Kaimattar* is a bird, like a heron, with a spoonlike bill).
184. *Iskartup tummat*: See No. 20.
185. *Iskartup p'ippi*: See No. 20.
186. *Naipetup*: See No. 32.
187. *Nikinkwatup*: Pérez does not understand this name; on the other hand there is a word *nikirkwa*, which Pérez has translated by "ardilla pequeña" (see Wassén, 1934, p. 4).
188. *U'p'artup*: According to Pérez, the 'twisted canoe', probably referring to the form of the island. (Cf. No. 41, 142 and 175).
189. *Nalipiryatup*: The island of the eddy of sharks (*nali*).
190. *Achutup*: See No. 10.
191. *Yantup tummat*: The big pig island. Cf. No. 40.
192. *Yantup p'ippi*: The little pig island.
193. *Ustuppu*: See No. 116.
194. *Playin Chilo*: This village is called *Kannirtup* (hen island) in Cuna.
195. *Naipetup p'ippi*: The little snake island. See No. 32.
196. *Tachewetuppu*: The island of the old man or grandfather (from *taba* 'grandfather' and *sere* 'old').
197. *Achutup*: See No. 10.
198. *Sipattup*: See No. 157.
199. *Yalatumma*: The big hill.
200. *Suktup tummat*: See No. 110.
201. *Suktup p'ippi*: See No. 110.
202. *Sukknkwatup*: See No. 34. (This form has been changed into *sukknkwatup* in the MS. Pérez translates "cangrejito rojo").
203. *Kortup*: See No. 66.
204. *Akkwatup*: See No. 55.

205. *Tuppile*: Although Pérez translates the name of this village as "isla corvada," the name is quite different from that of *Tuppirit*, "isla curva" (see No. 142); on the other hand, *Tuppil* in No. 41 may be identical with either of these.
206. *Milakir*: Evidently from *mila* 'tarpon'; the latter part is obscure. Pérez understands the name as *Milakwilet* 'the leaping of the tarpon'.
207. *Okopkan(n)arkwa*: The first part is *okop*, coconut; the latter part, owing to the inaccurate spelling is not identifiable. Pérez attempts "coco solo" (thinking on *kwennakwa* 'one?').
208. *Uksiputup*: Possibly the white shell island (from *ukka* 'shell', e. g., of molluscs). Pérez makes out "arena blanca," as if from *ukkup sipu*. (Cf. 248).
209. *Neklotup*: The black island (from Span. *negro*).
210. *Mektoketup*: Pérez thinks that this name should be *merkitoketup* and translates it "isla de la entrada de los americanos" (*merki*).
211. *Tuppachui*: Pérez translates "lombriz de tierra," earth worm. It might be objected that such a compound is not a normal one. Another explanation would be *Tuppu achui* 'island with the pointed nose' (cf. *ulachui* boat with a 'pointed nose', i. e., 'pirogue').
212. *Oltup*: See No. 144.
213. *Mirya*: See No. 164.
214. *Yantup tummat*: See No. 40.
215. *Yantup pippi*: See No. 40.
216. *Ilestup*: The island of the English (from Span. *inglés*).
217. *Parkotup tummat*: The big shell island (see No. 137).
218. *Parkotup pippi*: The little shell island.
219. *Upsankantup*: The island of the cotton plants.
220. *Sanku(t)up*: Meaning is not clear. Possibly from the Spanish *zancudo*.
221. *Akkwasirtup*: According to Pérez, from the name of a bird. The name is misspelled in the MS., whence it might be possible to assume *akkwasetup*, the scorpion island.
222. *Akkwaseret*: The old rock (cf. however the preceeding name).
223. *Mono*: Spanish name.
224. *Kinkartup*: The proper analysis of this name is not clear (cf. *kinni* 'red' and *kalu* 'wall?').
225. *Nutup*: The pigeon (*nuu*) island.
226. *Okopwili?*: This would mean (the spotted coconuts.) Pérez suggests "coco picado."
227. *Sintup*: See No. 105.
228. *Tupmattar*: See No. 37.
229. *Sisirtup*: Pérez supposes *Sichirtup*. See No. 82.
230. *Kwaryatup*: Cf. No. 75.
231. *Tupiarpokwat*: The twin island. Cf. 145.
232. *Warsotupkwa*: The little island of *warso*. See No. 35.

233. *Soskantup*: The island of the *soska*-palm. (Originally *sos*, plur. *soskan*, a palm whose leaves (*soska*) are used for thatching houses.)
234. *Alikanti*: The river of the mangrove trees. Originally the name of an inland settlement.
235. *Murupippi*: The little point (*muru*).
236. *Nusuphakatup*: The little pigeon island. For the repetition of *tup(pu)* 'island', cf. the Tewa place name *Hut'ahu'u* 'the dry arroyo', quoted by Harrington (see Holmer, 1948, p. 19).
237. *Kanora*: The meaning is not clear (according to Pérez, Spanish).
238. *Achutup*: See No. 10. This village is also called Río Banano.
239. *Wakkalatup*: The spelling in the MS. is unusual; if our transcription is correct, the meaning would be the island of the bones of the stranger.
240. *Achutupwala*: The long dog island. Cf. No. 10.
241. *Mammitup*: See No. 42. (A village also called Isla Mamey.)
242. *Sipattup*: See No. 157.
243. *Ulutup*: The island of howling monkeys. (*Ulu* is a species of *aullador*).
244. *Kusephkantup*: See No. 111.
245. *Pattasukkun*: The plate (*patta*) bay or corner (*sukkun*) or the bay of bathing (*patta*-); according to Pérez, this is a flat island.
246. *Kaimattartup*: See No. 183.
247. *Yantup*: See No. 40.
248. *Ukkupsipu*: The white sand.
249. *Upsankantup*: See No. 219.
250. *Kwitup*: See No. 19.
251. *Ukkupsipu*: See No. 248.
252. *Ustuppu Portogandi*: See No. 116. The name of the mainland settlement, Portogandi, is in Cuna *Putturkanti* (supposed to be from a word *puttur*, Span. *erizo*, which, however, suggests the more common word *puttalar*, *erizo del mar*).
253. *Miryatup*: See No. 25.
254. *Aritup*: See No. 29.
255. *Isla Pinos*: The Cuna name is *Tuppak*, perhaps from *pakka*, whale, indicating similarity. Cf. McKim, 1947 a, p. 25.
256. *Isla Gallina*: The Cuna name is *Mulatup* of the same meaning.
257. *Morotup*: See No. 138.
258. *Nutup*: See No. 225.
259. *Nikkemallutup*: From *mullu*, cf. 101, and *nikke* (of unknown meaning) found, e., g., in the river name *Nikketi*.
260. *Soskantup*: See No. 233.
261. *Ukkuptumma*: The big sand.
262. *Takarkantup*: The island of *platanillos* (*Myriosma quapilense*).
263. *Tupwala*: See No. 50.
264. *Nuphaka*: Meaning unknown. Possibly from the name of a tree.
265. *Hupphaku*: The walls of the swallows (*hup*). For *kulu* cf. 151.

266. *Koetup*: The deer island. This is mentioned as a village.
267. *Sintup*: See No. 105.
268. *Suletup*: The rabbit island (from *sule*, Span. *conejo pintado*).
269. *Kinkuptup*: The analysis is not clear (cf. *kinni* red, brown and *kuppu-wala*), the Panama tree, *Sterculia apetala*).
270. *Achuyatup*: The island of the dog hole. According to Pérez, it refers to "perro del mar" (otter?).
271. *Nalisutup*: Meaning uncertain (from *nali*, shark, and *sui* long?).
272. *Tupwala*: See No. 50.

CHAPTER 3

The Peopling of Ten Cuna Villages

Several original Cuna documents regarding the geographical location and the peopling of different Indian villages have already been published in CES 10. During our stay at Narganá in 1947, I received from Rubén Pérez Kantule a typewritten manuscript in Spanish, the author of which was Guillermo Haya (or Hayans) of Ustupu, who wrote it for Olotebiliguña, the successor of Nele de Kantule as First Chief of San Blas. The manuscript (No. 47.19.62) comprises 11 pages and deals with the following 10 villages: *Armila*, *Napakanti*, *Sasanti*, *Aklaticul*, *Kareto*, *Asnasukkun*, *Siatinakka*, *Pito*, *Kwiti* and *Putturkanti*.

These pages, written in the detailed manner characteristic of Haya, form a description based in part on geographical facts and for the rest on still vivid traditions of the peopling of the centers in question. As this kind of Indian information seems of importance to me, considering the fact that as time goes by very little will be known of it, I herewith publish the respective descriptions with explanations and commentary. As Haya's Spanish had to be considerably corrected, I have chosen to translate the text into English, at the same time, in collaboration with Holmer, normalizing Haya's irregular spelling of names. In cases of personal names, no comments can usually be made.

1. Armila

(47.19.62, p. 1)

Armila originally was not an inhabited village but a very dangerous river. It was in the time when *saila* Valele reigned at Pito with people like Olonakkiler (MS. Olonaquiler, Olowialer and others. A short time afterwards, Olonakkiler established his house at the mouth of the great river Armila.

Thus this Olonakkiler made himself the first chief of Armila. His

second chief was Olowialer. The wife of Olonakkiler was Wakanuk-(k)ir (MS. Huaca-nuquir), and Ikwatikpuni (MS. Icuaticbuni) was the wife of Olowialer.

After this chief there came one by name Manikinya, whose wife was Wakasaktili, and after this chief there came one by name of Tupikinye (MS. Tubiquinye). His wife was named Wakapunasop.

In the village of Armila there lived important people such as the following: Olonakkiler, Olowialer, Manikinya, and Tiekikinya (MS. Tiebiquinya).¹⁾

These men were the ones who worked in the great coconut plantations on the whole coast of Armila. This was first a very dangerous village (river) that could not be peopled because of illnesses until two great *neles* quelled these sicknesses. It was one Nelekunwalipiler, a *yaukkana*.²⁾ The other was a *siakana*.³⁾

In the old days a big whale entered the river of Armila at a place called Pakti ('Whale-river'). At the same time, the natives of the village saw many white men along the coast of Armila and the river, but they couldn't approach those men because they died when they attempted it. Moreover, along the river of Armila, there are several whirlpools, *pirya*, such as Samapirya, Inakanti ('Medicine river') and farther upstream one called Pattekana.

The principal tributaries of the river Armila are: Ukkupti (the 'Sand river'), to the right, from the mountain of Inarti⁴⁾, farther up the river, an affluent named Surkarti, coming from Achukalu (the 'Dog-stronghold'), and after this affluent, another one called Tikuttur (the 'Dark water'), coming from the mountain of Siati.

2. Napakanti

(47.19.62, p. 2)

The river Napakanti is an old one that takes its name from *Napa-tulekanneka*, meaning that the people of the calabash originally lived there (*napa* 'calabash').

¹⁾ This is a typical repetition of Haya. Note, however, the name Tiekikinya, most probably the same chief earlier called Tupikinye.

²⁾ 'Turtle doctor'. Cf. *tulikana*.

³⁾ 'Cocoa doctor'.

⁴⁾ Haya expresses this in the following way "*Ucupti van a la derecha y termina hasta el monte Inardi*," that is to say, he reckons the course of a river from its mouth to its source, quite contrary to our way of expressing the course of a river according to the current. This he does consistently.

A long time ago, there reigned a chieftain by name of Nakkipinya (MS. Nakquibinya) with his wife Wakapotili (or Wakapotir).¹ When chief Nakkipinya died, he was followed by Karyaler as *saila*. The wife of this one was Wakaipotir.

After this man *saila* Wakapaler reigned. His wife was Mumunar. Then he was followed by chief Tataari ('grandpa Iguana'), whose wife was Wakatuklili.

The next *saila* to reign was Olotaniplel. His wife was called Wakailikwa (MS. Huacailicua), and after them there came chief Olosikwaple (MS. Olosicuaple) and his wife Wakaaknali.

In the village of Napakanti there lived important Cuna people such as Oryatup, Kwipan, Ka(r)yaler, Wakapaler, Tataari and Olotaniplel, and these men worked in the coconut plantations.

The R. Napakanti is a river with several *pirya*'s ('whirlpools'), a very unhealthy place, and because of this, Nele-*vaukkana* ('turtle doctor') threw *kaupí* ('chili') in the river, quelling the illness.

The principal affluents of the river Napakanti are:

Niparkanti, to the left, from the mountain of Wepkanti; upstream from this, the Mirti ('tarpon water'), an affluent from the right and the mountain of Akkwati; farther upstream, the affluent named Urti (the 'boat river') coming from the right and the mountain of Narpakan; also the tributary of Tiurti, from the mountain of Opkwamie(?) to the left; upstream from this river, the Tisenik (the 'Little water') to the left, coming from the mountain of Urkoyala (the 'Board mountain'); and, further, the affluent by name of Napakantiwala, coming from the right and the mountain of Manti.

3. Sasarti

(47.19.62, p. 3)

The first chief to reign at Sasarti river was Piwik, whose wife was Wakapakkutir. When he died, Kummupaler was appointed chief. His wife was Wakkukutir.

After this chief, there came *saila* Oloyalikkaler with his wife, Wakatittilasop, and after the death of this chief there was another by name of Olapsoketi with his wife, Waksakkutir.

The next chief was Nakniplél with his wife, Wakt(usop), and after all these chiefs, came the last one, Inanakiya,² with his wife, Oloiktili.

¹ *Pirya* must

² See p. 84

Also in the village of Sasarti there lived important people. There wasn't as much sickness along that river as on many others. Here lived Piwik, Kunnupaler, Oloyalikkaler, Olapsoketi¹⁾ and Inana-kinya. They were all good fighters and workers in the coconut plantations.

The principal affluents of the Sasarti river are the following: Wanti to the right, from the mountain of Nalukalu; farther upstream, a tributary to the left coming from the mountain Tikole; upstream from this river, an affluent by name Aktukkansuit, running to the right, coming from the mountain of Nalukalu; and still another tributary, also coming from the right named Titarpokwat (the 'Twin river'), coming from Achukalu (the 'Dog-stronghold').

4. Aklatiwal

(47.19.62, p. 4)

The first *saila* at Aklatiwal²⁾ was Yaklipaler, who had two wives, one named Aktikkili and the other Mu-Winar.

When this chief died, Inayolikkaler was appointed as chieftain with his wife, Nakkutir.

After this chief came Yaktupaler with his wife, Wakapopoli.

At this time, because of poor conditions and several illnesses, they did not succeed in peopling the village here, and in view of this, the people crossed (the river) to live in another village. The new village which they established was called Makepmuru.³⁾ Here a new chief was chosen whose name was Niknikka. The name of his wife was Wakatekuna.

When this chief died, there reigned *saila* Inasaktippile(r), whose wife was Wakatililisop. Following this chief came Inapartin and his wife, Wakatak(k)isop.

The village of Akla was also a very old one and had its name from a tree, because the natives of the village called a tree *Aklasappia tillakorokwat* (MS. *Acla-sapi-a Til-la corocuat*), and from this comes the name of Akla (Acla).

Here also lived important people such as Yaklipaler, Inayolikkaler, Yaktupaler, Niknikka and Inasaktippile(r). They worked much in the coconut plantations along the coasts of Aklatiwal.

¹⁾ One of the mass curers.

²⁾ 'Shelf river'. *Akla*, shelf=elevation?

³⁾ The 'Makepa Point' (MS. *maquep*).

In front of Aklatiwal is a wall (MS. "*muralla*") named Akkwapulet.¹⁾ When the villagers cut down a tree at the side of this wall, there came upon them a severe sickness and many people died. When the mass curer, Suip, tried to quell this illness and had not enough *war* (tobacco), he also died.

The principal affluents of the Aklatiwal river are: Napakana, flowing from the left and the mountain of Kunnatiyala; the affluent, Arsan,²⁾ from the right and the mountain of Poyala;³⁾ another tributary, Wakkullutian, from the left and the mountain Temaltakkeyala;⁴⁾ farther upstream, another affluent called Okanti, coming from the right and the mountain Ikkolloti.

5. Careto

(47.19.62, p. 5)

The first chief to reign at Careto was Tik(k)upaler, with his wife, Wakailasop. After the death of this *saila*, he was followed by Olokitale, whose wife was Wakayoksili.

Following this, there was a chief named Inasuakwa, and wife, Wakasipportili.

When he died, came *saila* Ikwatui with his wife, Wakayaklili. He was succeeded by another chief named Manaknikka, whose wife was Wakakteali.

After this chieftain came *saila* Niknippe, whose wife, was Opaktili.

Careto is also an old village, and here, too, the important men worked in the coconut plantations during the time of *saila* Olokitale's reign.

Also at Careto there was an evil sickness each time *puracorel*⁵⁾ came there. Then the *nda* Kaupikana ended the epidemic by throwing *kaupi* (chili pepper) in the sea.

The principal affluents of the Careto river are: Kaimattarti,⁶⁾ from the right and the mountain Sap/pakanyala; Mirti, to the right,

¹⁾ The 'Mighty Rock'.

²⁾ 'Ladder', 'stairs'.

³⁾ The 'Misty Mountain'.

⁴⁾ The mountain from which the ocean can be seen.

⁵⁾ A wind?

⁶⁾ Name of a bird.

from the mountain Okopkanikal;¹⁾ the tributary, Kikkirti,²⁾ coming from the left and the mountain of Sikliyala³⁾ and further, the affluent called Titina,⁴⁾ from the left and Soskanyala.⁵⁾

6. Asnasukkun

(47.19.62, p. 6)

The old name of the village of Asnasukkun was Matunkantinakka⁶⁾ where there lived a chief named Tillak(k)iler. His wife was called Wakapiali.

When this chief died, *saila* Mannakip began his reign. The name of his wife was Mu-Kokatir.

The third chieftain here was Nati, whose wife was called Wakanotili.

After him came another chief named Inawitte, with his wife, Ammawakanuali. The next after him was *saila* Inak(k)iwikka, whose wife was Wakanuk(k)ir. During the government of chief Inaula came the United Fruit Company.

The principal people of Asnasukkun, formerly called Matunkantinakka, worked in the coconut plantations. Among these men were Tillak(k)iler, Mannakip, Nati, Inawitte and Inaula. These people worked along the whole coast as far as Permé.

During the reign of *saila* Nati, a severe epidemic of smallpox struck the place.

7. Siatinakka

(47.19.62, p. 7)

During the reign of *saila* Mannakip at Matunkantinakka, several houses were established at Siatinakka⁷⁾ in order to live there. The first chief at this place was Felipe (MS. Belipe) with his wife, Wakatipasop. When he died, he was followed by *saila* Inatenippi, whose wife was Wakaolisop.

¹⁾ Coconut-tree way.

²⁾ Octopus river.

³⁾ Mountain of the *pavo real*.

⁴⁾ 'Dry river'.

⁵⁾ 'Thatch Mountain'. *Sos* or *soska*, a palm whose leaves are used in thatching houses.

⁶⁾ 'Mouth of Plantain river'.

⁷⁾ 'Mouth of Cacao river'.

The next chief to reign here was Inanatinya, with his wife, Wakao-lili, and this chief was succeeded by Inatokappile and his wife, Wakailili.

Then there came a chief named Inayok(k)apaler, with his wife, Wakanali. When chief Inayok(k)apaler died, he was succeeded by Olotak(k)anyale. His wife was Wakanannali.

The next chieftain here was *saila* Ikwatukni, and his wife, Wakatokili.

This village, Siatinakka, connected with the village of Pito by "a coast" (MS. "*unido con una costa con la del Pito*"), is also an old settlement. At the time of *saila* Inanatinya's government there was a severe illness, but it was ended by the same *neles* Kunwalippiler and Nele Siakana (cf. p. 112).

8. Pito

(47.19.62, p. 8)

At the time of *saila* Inanatinya at Siatinakka, *saila* Nusale, with a few people, established his village at the mouth of the river Pito. This Nusale was the first chief there. His wife was Wakatokek(k)ilisop.

The next chief to reign here was Yalele, with his wife, Wakaetokili.

Then came a chief named OlaiPIP(p)ile, and his wife, Waikuna. When this chief died he was succeeded by Narkunaler, and his wife, Punorkwa.¹⁾

The village of Pito, on the same coast as Armila, is also very old and its most important people who worked in the coconut plantations were Nusale, Yalele, OlaiPIP(p)ile and Narkunaler.

9. Kwiti

(47.19.62, p. 9)

The river (village) Kwiti (MS. Cuidi),²⁾ which is an old one, had its settlement at the mouth of the river. Once upon a time the Mosquito people lived here, hence the name of the river.

When these people came to an end, there began to reign there a chief named Lukkipale, with his wife, Mu-Saklipe. After his death there was *saila* Tinalilel and his wife, Waktakir.

¹⁾ = 'the little girl'.

²⁾ Mosquito river.

He was followed by chief Kelippilel, whose wife was Wakauainsop. After them came *saila* Maspip,¹⁾ and his wife, Mu-Opunasop.

The next chief was Okkilel, whose wife was Mu-Uakir (Wak(k)ir? MS. Mu-uakir). He was succeeded by chief Nalukirya, whose wife was Ikwatikipuni.

The village Kwiti was formerly very unhealthy but Nele Lukkipale quelled the sickness and since then every illness disappeared.

The most principal men to work in the great plantations were Tinalilel, Kelippilel, Maspip, Okkilel and Nalukirya.

The principal affluents of the river Kwiti are: Matunkanti, from the right and the mountain of Niniyala; farther upstream, Sekarkanti,²⁾ from the left and the mountain Tupakan; still farther upstream, a tributary from the right, Kwiti, coming from the mountain Kwinupti.

There is another affluent named Ukkupti.³⁾ It flows from the right and the mountain of Kwitoyala.⁴⁾

Another tributary, flowing from the right, is named Suikekarti (MS. Suiquecardi). It comes from Suikeyala.

There is further on an affluent named Ikwakanti,⁵⁾ coming from the right and the mountain Suikeyala.

10. Putturkanti

(47.19.62, p. 10)

The name Putturkanti (MS. Puturgandi) is derived from the fact that here there once lived several female sorcerers from Puttur (*putturnia*) (MS. "*antes aqui vivian muchas brujas de Putur-Puturnia*"). When these *brujas* died, a chief named Awipe began to reign there. His wife was Eisopi.

After Awipe's death *saila* Maat reigned, with his wife named Pur-sop, and following Maat's death a chief named Nusamakkale began his reign. The wife of this chief was Ilasop ('ila-woman').

The next chief was Sek(k)i, whose wife was named Nunar.

Then a *saila* named Wik(k)utunilel reigned. His wife was Wakaktekili.

¹⁾ 'The little boy'.

²⁾ 'Matches river'.

³⁾ 'Sandy river'.

⁴⁾ MS. Cuido-yala = Mosquito-river?-mountain.

⁵⁾ The river of *árbol de tinta*.



Fig. 37. The Cuna flag mentioned in the footnote 1 on this page.
GEM, Cat. No. 10371.

The next chief to follow was Iklitinapaler with his wife, Oletitir. Putturkanti was an old village where several wise Cuna men used to live. In olden times it was a river where the *brujas* from Puttur lived, so no others could stay there. Then a female *nele* named Aneda¹) came from Pae (or Paya) and managed to have the sorcerers sent down through the layers (*i. e.*, of the earth, to the underworld).

The principal people living in Putturkanti were Awipe, Maat, Nusamakkale, Sek(k)i, Wik(k)utunil and Iklatinapaler. These people worked on the large cultivations of coconuts, cacao and other crops. During the reign of *saila* Iklatinapaler there was — in the year 1903 — a severe sickness in Putturkanti, and afterwards the whole population moved to the island of Ustupu.²)

¹) Cf. CES 10, p. 89 and diagram on p. 90, where Aneda or Aneta is referred to as the ancestress of the famous Nele de Kantule of Ustupu. She was married to Kintup, Nele's progenitor, and in the text is said to be an "*adivina, quien trabajó de exterminar las piryas que existían en las costas de la región de su residencia.*"

During World War II Cuna men on the island of Tigre hoisted a flag with the picture of Aneda and a swastika on it (see fig. 37). The flag was observed by U. S. patrol planes which, however, had to repeat their visit twice before the Indians learned they couldn't continue flying a flag with the now so very hated swastika on it, even if this was an invention made during the Cuna revolution of 1925.

²) The same year for the peopling of Ustupu is given in CES 10, p. 91.

The main affluents of the Putturkanti river are the following: Apnati, from the right and the mountain Sarsip; farther upstream, a tributary named Nurnati, from the left and the mountain Kankanti; a little farther upstream the river Sinati ('Pig river?'), coming from the right and the mountain Selikan; still farther upstream the tributary Takarkanti, from the left and the mountain Sarpiskalet ('Cloven posterior').

Another affluent is the Kurkanti river, from the right and the mountain Selikan, and still another the Pinorti, from the right and the mountain Selikan. The Poksiti is also an affluent, from the right and the mountain of Selikan, as well as the Akkwanusti.¹⁾ Further upstream there is an affluent named Nakkipirti. This river comes from the left and the mountain Sichilyala (MS. Sitsil-yala).²⁾

Geographical Limits

Page 11 of the Cuna manuscript dealt with here gives the geographical location of nine of the ten villages treated in the foregoing. Because of the Cuna geographical names mentioned therein it seems worth while also to include this information here.

- 1) *Armila*: Limits to the North, The Caribbean Sea; South, the mountain of Karsip³⁾ or Ipesip; East, mountain Ipeti;⁴⁾ West, the river Tukti.
- 2) *Pito*: Limits, North, The Caribbean Sea; South, Kayala;⁵⁾ East, the river Iksimuru; West, the river Museret.⁶⁾
- 3) *Siatinakka*: Limits, North, The Caribbean Sea; South, Mountain; East, the river Museret; West, the river Ibkinakka.
- 4) *Asnasukkun*: Limits, North, The Caribbean Sea; South, Mountain of Uskwar-yala; East, the river Ibquinakca;⁷⁾ West, Mountain of Kakki.
- 5) *Careto*: Limits, North, The Caribbean Sea; South, the mountain Sap(p)a-yala; East, the mountain Kakki; West, *Isla de Oro* or Ortop.
- 6) *Sasarti*: Limits, North, The Caribbean Sea; South, The mountain of Po-yala;⁸⁾ East, Gulf of Kunnati; West, the river Kwati.

¹⁾ 'Medicine-stone river'.

²⁾ 'Ant Mountain', *hormiga negra*.

³⁾ Probably Sarsip; cf. above.

⁴⁾ Cf. Ipetiniki.

⁵⁾ Pepper mountain.

⁶⁾ 'Old woman'.

⁷⁾ According to the MS.

⁸⁾ 'Misty Mt.'

- 7) *Nipakantu*: Limits, North, The Caribbean Sea; South, Mountain of Chiehiryala (= Sichilyala); East, Gulf of Kwati, West, Gulf of Kunwatale (-talle?).
- 8) *Pattukunt*: Limits, North, the Caribbean Sea; South, Mountain of Towiriyala;¹⁾ East, Gulf of Kunwatale; West, The *muralla* of Neklo.
- 9) *Kwiti*: Limits, North The Caribbean Sea; South, the mountain Sailayala; East, the *muralla* Neklo; West, Point Sankanmuru.²⁾

¹⁾ *Towili* 'alligator'; cf. Holmer and Wassén, 1947, p. 48, footnote 300.

²⁾ Point of (pieces of) meat.

CHAPTER 4

Contribution to the Knowledge of Cuna Indian Political Leaders according to Native Records

(With Four Appendices)

During our stay on the San Blas coast in 1947, the *saila* Yaikun, first chief of Okopsukkun (on Ustupu), a nonagenarian, was mentioned as oldest of the Cuna Indians then living. He was described as comparatively alert in spite of his advanced age. Since I did not visit Ustupu, I did not get a chance of meeting him. I have no further special notes about this chief from 1947, but it is the same Yaikun which is mentioned in CES 10, p. 91, as successor of a certain chief of Puturgandi by name of José. Yaikun, according to the document, entitled "*un resumen de la vida de Nele de Ustup*" (CES 10, p. 89-91), was chief at the time of the emigration to Ustupu in 1903. Following a statement in the same document, after a fire catastrophe, which happened 10 years later, Yaikun wanted to move to another island, but Nele de Kantule opposed this scheme and became leader of a party which made him chief over Ustupu (in 1919?) and the people remained on the island.

In the more complete native biography of Nele de Kantule published by me (1938, p. 31 sqq.) the political events outlined above are treated as well. It says in the latter that Yaikun was chief at the time of the destruction, Kunwasili being associate chief. This, then, held for Ustupu. As for the whole of San Blas, a certain Inanakinya, at Sasardi, had earlier been sovereign chief. When the latter died during a visit to Cartagena,¹⁾ owing to a division among the Indians after the formation of the Republic of Panamá, two sovereign chiefs were elected for the coast, *viz.* Inapakinya (nephew of Inanakinya and dead in June 1938), who sympathized with

¹⁾ This according to Guillermo Haya (Wassén, 1938, p. 38). Stout, 1947, p. 84, mentions Bogotá, probably following CES 10, p. 213 (according to Nele de Kantule).

Colombia, and Simral Colman, living at Ailigandí and in favor of Panama. Nele de Kantule first acted as mediator between these factions and later, after the partition of the chieftainship of Ustupu, he appeared openly as a partisan of Simral Colman and consequently as a friend of Panama. The local conflict in Ustupu developed parallel to this, so that Nele de Kantule tried to persuade Yaikun to side with the Panamanians as well, that is to say, to hoist the Panamanian flag and thereby recognize the new border line between the two republics of Colombia and Panama. In this, however, he was not successful, in any case, not completely, for in 1923 a final partition of Ustupu was effected, according to which Yaikun was to rule over the eastern and northern parts of the island and Nele de Kantule over the western and southern parts. On the other hand, the Panamanian faction had succeeded in winning the original friend of Colombia, Inapakinya, for Panamanian supremacy and it says in the document that a certain *intendente*, Humberto Vaglio, brought him to Panama to be introduced to the president. "When he returned, all the villages which were under him hoisted the Panamanian flag for the first time." Nevertheless, Inapakinya was even in later years resistant to Panama. Nordenskiöld expresses this relation in the following way (CES 10, p. 7): "Inapaquíña will fly the Panama flag, but allows no Panamanians to settle in his district."

About the aforesaid Nele de Kantule, without a doubt one of the greatest characters among the Cuna in modern times, so much detailed information has been given in our earlier literature on the tribe that I need not further deal with his life and work. He died, according to a statement by Rubén Pérez Kantule, in September 1944 and was buried on a little island called Yantup, near Ustupu. In 1947, the Indians were planning to raise a memorial on his grave.

As successor to Nele de Kantule in Ustupu, Olotebiliguíña (fig. 38) was appointed, who, however, has a rival of minor importance in Inapakinya's successor, Yabiliguíña, chief of Tupwala (fig. 39). I had no occasion to meet either of these chiefs, but my fellow researcher, Holmer, who visited Ustupu, describes chief Olotebiliguíña as a most authoritative person, showing great energy, and highly respected by everyone on Ustupu, and having great influence on many of the other islands as well.

In the third place, Charles Robinson at Narganá is still in 1947



Fig. 38. Supreme chief Olotebiliguiña, Ustupu. Photograph given to Holmer by the chief himself in 1947. GEM, Cat. No. 10369.



Fig. 39. Chief Yabiliguiña from Tupwala, successor to Inapaquíñe. Photograph acquired at Narganá. GEM, Cat. No. 10368.

entitled to a certain sovereignty over parts of San Blas. He is, however, considered as retired, yet with full recognition of his work in favor of civilization for the Indians. Of him we have a biography, published in the document entitled "*Algo sobre la vida de saila Charles Robinson*" (GEM. 47.19.53) and written by the Cuna Indian Estanislao López. According to information at Narganá in 1947, the latter Indian was then working in Panama City. He was appointed successor to Charles Robinson in 1945 and styled himself "*saila general de San Blas*," although he remained in office only until September 1946.¹⁾ From what we are told by the Indians, his election had not been approved by the *intendente* and López himself was waiting for a new Indian congress. He still retained the title of *saila* and refers to himself in the last sentence of the document in question as "*uno de los exponentes más caracterizados de esa región*." According to Stout, 1947, p. 83, it is stated, "though the people do not like Robinson they have not taken the initiative to replace

¹⁾ Possibly the same Indian which Stout (1947, p. 85) mentions as propagandist for modern ideas in Narganá, such as dance halls, etc.



Fig. 40. Andrés López Durán, a young and very gifted Cuna Indian, who died of TB in 1939. A graduate of the Instituto Nacional in Panama, he founded (in 1932) the society *Juventud Luchadora* at Narganá. A large-size picture of him hangs in the Society's house in the village. Photograph acquired at Narganá. GEM. Cat. No. 10370.

him with another chief, inasmuch as he has the support of the Policía as the village chief recognized by the Panamanian government."

The political situation among the Indians of San Blas and the relations between the three most important factions is characterized in the following way by the people of Narganá.

- (1) A faction having its center at Narganá Vantup, Nusatup (Corazón de Jesús) and Río Azúcar or Cueptí. These Indians want to be wholly civilized and it is in these communities that the acculturation has made most progress.
- (2) A large faction under the leadership of the supreme chief Olotebiliguña in Ustupu. This faction, *e. g.*, allows schools on the islands, but does not admit of any considerable changes in the old customs.
- (3) A faction under the leadership of the Yabiliguña in Tupwala. This faction does not want to be reconciled to anything new.

The writer "Indio Peruka," a *nom de plume* of our old friend Rubén Pérez Kantule, in 1947 appearing as a strong supporter of modernism in Narganá, characterizes, in a document entitled "*La Comarca de San Blas ante el pueblo panameño*" (GEM 47.19.59) the situation as far as the Tupwala chief is concerned in the following way: "Actualmente el Saila Yapiliquiña, que reside en Tup-uala, está gobernando veinte pueblos de menos importancia de toda la Comarca de San Blas. Todos de estos pueblos no reciben las escuelas públicas, ni piensan de tenerlas. Es una lástima para la tribu de Yapiliquiña, que entre sus hijos no hay quien sabe de la instrucción y por lo tanto es la tribu mas explotada que hay en la Comarca por los comerciantes extranjeros; y son amigos de sus enemigos por su ignorancia."

In the same document the following villages are said to belong to faction 3:

Village names	Number of inhabitants	Number in the list of island names (chapter 2)
1. Mandi-Ubigantup (Sucumbali) ¹⁾	405	
2. Cartí-Narasgantup	381	53
3. Cartí-Narasgantup-pippi	167	54
4. Acuatup	137	55
5. Cartí-Yantup	262	40
6. Cartí-Mulatup	95	38
7. Mirya-Ubigantup (Soledad)	201	62
8. Achutup (Isla Perro)	510	238
9. Mammitup (Isla Mamey)	316	42
10. Ustup-Ocopsugun ²⁾	370	
11. Mamsugun	221	
12. Nabagandí	236	
13. Mulatup (Isla Gallinazo)	772	256
14. Tup-uala	482	263 or 272
15. Coetup (Calidonia)	200	266
16. Caret (Carreto)	78	
17. Esnas-sugun (Anachucuna)	92	
18. Siatinaca	14	
19. Armil (Río Armila)	54	
20. Socubti, Mortí and Uala	112	
Total 5,105 inhabitants		

¹⁾ For the name Ubigantup, see No. 62 in the list of island names. *Sucumbali* represents a geographical designation 'along the bay' (Cuna *sukukum pali*).

²⁾ This is the farther part of the island of Ustupu. First local chief of this part in 1947 was the old Yaikun. Cf. p. 18. The name means 'the coconut corner.'

I have been unable to check the figures given above, which proceed from Rubén Pérez Kantule and may possibly have some relation to his own political sympathies.

If I may use this opportunity to add a few words about a modern Cuna Indian of the cultivated type that Rubén Pérez Kantule represents, I would say that he himself held no official political position in tribal affairs in 1947, but it was quite manifest that he still retained much of his fervent interest in the politics and future of his tribe that he had when we first met him, then a young secretary to the famous chief Nele de Kantule, on his visit to Sweden in 1931. At the time of our visit he was 41 years old and had quite naturally other opinions in many respects. As regards the old Nele de Kantule, who died in September 1944, Pérez held the opinion that the chief's position had been weakened during his last years, as he accepted subsidies from the Panamanian government. In his cautious criticism of the present day chiefs of the tribe, Pérez considered that they were losing much of their power by having too little personal contact with the different villages. As to the collaboration between the Panamanian authorities and the Indians, Pérez Kantule was now definitely pro-Panamanian, but he was at the same time afraid of too much modernism, as for instance certain plans to introduce the canteen system for selling liquor on the islands. Men such as Pérez Kantule must, in such matters, be considered as very valuable guardians of a policy which is to the best of the Indians, but which at the same time gives the government possibilities of widening the cultural work among them. For this purpose the system of keeping public libraries in some of the Cuna villages may well be considered one favored by the government, besides schools and the like. As a matter of fact, Pérez Kantule was also, at the time of our visit, the official librarian of the Public Library, which was housed in Internado Claret on the island of Nusatúp (Corazón de Jesús). Furthermore, he was himself the founder of this library, as he, already in 1935, as a result of his international connections after his visit to Sweden, had gotten so many books and reprints that for lack of space, he could not go on keeping them in his own house. Following the advice of the Catholic missionaries, he brought his collection of about 250 books and more than 300 reprints to the Internado Claret in November 1935, and soon afterwards he was officially appointed librarian by a government act.

As a proof of Pérez' cultural standing in Panamá, as well as internationally, it may be added that he was appointed Panamanian delegate to the first *Congreso Indigenista Interamericano* at Patzcuaro, México, on April 14-22, 1940, and that it was this Panamanian Indian delegate who, on April 19th, proposed to the Congress the institution of the Day of the Indian (*Día del Indio*), which has since been approved by the different American governments.

In 1947, Pérez was still secretary for Panamá in the "*Liga de Naciones de Indios Norteamericanos*," which, in spite of the name, also includes Central and South American tribes (see fig. 41).

As another example of Rubén Pérez' activities for the benefit of his kinsmen I wish to mention that in 1944 he held a scholarship during an anti-parasitic campaign in San Blas, initiated by the Panamanian Public Health authorities. In a report by César A. Candanedo¹⁾ it is expressly stated that "en esta labor ha desempeñado un importante papel el compañero Pérez Kantule."

The Indian, who before the campaign had been trained to make microscopic faeces examinations, etc., also wrote a special report about his investigation of the sanitary conditions on Ustupo in March 1944 (see Appendix 4 to this chapter). However, he finally withdrew from his sanitary work, as, according to his own view, he did not receive sufficient support from the authorities.

Of two of the important Cuna chiefs mentioned above, Simral Colman and Charles Robinson, there are descriptions among the documents acquired by me at Narganá in 1947, which I shall copy (appendices 1 and 2) with only a few corrections in the spelling,

¹⁾ "Brigada Curativa Antihementica No. 3 en la Comarca de San Blas, República de Panamá. Informe narrativo de la campaña anti-parasitaria en Narganá y Corazón de Jesús, Intendencia de San Blas, durante el mes de enero de 1944" (Copy GEM, Cat. No. 47.19.66).

The report is very favorable in regard to the general cleanliness of the Cuna. "Existe entre los nativos la más escrupulosa limpieza pública. No se ha visto ningún aculamiento de basuras. En las viviendas se mantiene la misma situación. — Solamente hemos localizado moscas en algunas viviendas de personas que no son indígenas."

The health inspector, however, found two sanitary deficiencies, the dental hygiene and the dwellings. He found pyorrhea very common, and the houses low, dark and badly ventilated. Of 330 pupils attending the school at Narganá (these children also come from other parts of the coast) 273 could be examined. Of these 2 had uncinariasis, 39 were infected by the whipworm (*Trichuris*, or *Trichocephalus*) and 214 of the ascarid parasite. The 78 % infection of ascarids Mr. Candanedo explains as the result of getting their water supply from the river.

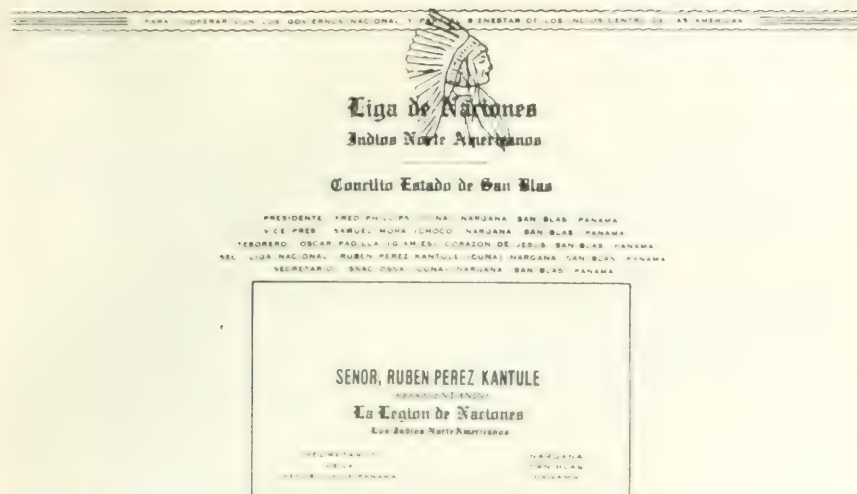


Fig. 41. Letterhead and visiting card used by Rubén Pérez Kantule, as Panamanian representative for the "League of Nations, North American Indians."

necessary for the understanding of the Spanish text. Such documents, in all their originality, often help to throw light upon definite political periods in the history of the Cuna tribe, but they are, on the other hand, by reason of their lack of exactness and often subconscious tendency to glorify a certain person, not sufficient to explain more complicated events, such as the rebellion of 1925.¹⁾ In particular the inexact character of the Cuna records appears in their reproducing of dates. Here are only a few examples. In CES 10, p. 91, it is stated, according to an Indian source, that Simral Colman died in 1920. In a document obtained at Narganá in 1947 (GEM. 47.19.48), written by Juan M. Colman at Ailigandi on October 14, 1932, it says that the chief Colman died in June 1930.²⁾ The date usually given for the beginning of the rebellion of 1925 is February 25.³⁾ In the "*Breves narraciones acerca de la revolución de 1925*," etc. (appendix 3) Juan Colman writes: "*al amanecer el 20 de Febrero del año de 1925*," etc.

¹⁾ For the latter, see Stout, 1947, p. 84, sqq., and, from an Indian point of view, the document published as Appendix 3, p. 101, sqq. See also pp. 17-30 in Castellero R., 1946.

²⁾ Stout, 1947, p. 87, on the other hand, has the different information "late in 1920."

³⁾ E. g. Stout, 1947, p. 86. Castellero R., 1946, p. 24, however, gives the date as "*en la mañana del 22 de febrero de 1925, día de la revolución*."

A p p e n d i x I

Biographical Notes on Simral Colman

Title of the Original Document (GEM 47.19.58): "*Documento original, breves biografías de nuestros antepasados abuelos que conocían las ciencias religiosas.*"

"En el tiempo de las conquistas de América las costas de San Blas habían poblaciones indígenas cuyas *saguilas* (chiefs) además de conocer las ciencias religiosa(s) conocían las tradiciones de sus antepasados y las medicinas; entre aquellos caciques encontrabase *Otokwa* (MS. Odorgua) uno de los indios más sobresalientes. Nació este gran cacique en el año 1712; en las inmediaciones del río *Pipisti* (MS. Bibisti) pasó su infancia. Ya desde muy temprana edad los indios viejos conocían en él su inteligencia porque acostumbraba oír los relatos y grandes hechos de indios heroicos.

En estos tiempos casi todos los indios llegaban a vivir un centenario porque acomstunbraban a bañarse en hierbas medicinales. *Otokwa* que administró las comarcas por largos años conocía la medicina, ciencias religiosas y fue un gran mago. Murió a los 108 años de edad.

Después de su muerte dejó en el poder de estos reinos a su hijo de nombre *Machuchust* (probably corrupt; from 'mas' and 'suchu'?) quien nació en el río *Pipisti* en el mismo punto que (MS. *de*) hoy se denomina *Napsati* o *Ailiganti* (MS. *Nabsadi*, the 'clay river'). *Machuchus* que tenía las mismas cualidades que (MS. *de*) su padre por su talento e inteligencia pudo aprender mucho que su padre sabía; siempre relataba este *saguila* a sus súbditos la extraordinaria resistencia opuesta por las tribus indias a invasores de su territorio. Entre los discípulos de este indio conociase a *Nalupip* (=little macaw) quien fue su secretario y más tarde nombrado *saguila*. El maestro de *Nalupip* después de regir por muchos años las tribus murió a los 120 años.

Nalupip siempre se había hecho querer por sus tribus, porque en él tenían a uno de los más heroicos y además quien les podía conservar su indiscutible independencia, también conocedor de las tradiciones de sus antepasados y ciencias religiosas. Nombrado *saguila* de estas comarcas predicaba a las tribus la existencia de un ser omnipotente (MS. "innopotente") y la existencia del diluvio, (por la cual las tribus debían de seguir?). Tenía este *saguila* dos hijas, una de ellas que se

había casado con un nativo de esas regiones. Llamabase éste Tomás indígena y sobresalía entre sus súbditos por su inteligencia e sabiduría; por parte de su suegro aprendió las ciencias religiosas y la medicina y de esta manera, antes de la muerte de su suegro era subjefto de estas regiones (y) quien más tarde fue *saguila*. Ya en estos tiempos apareció cierto indígena de nombre *Ikwakintipippi* (MS. Iguaquindipipi)¹ quien conocía ciertos cánticos de sus antepasados. Este indio a que me refiero es el infatigable cacique Colman.¹⁾

Nació Colman en la isla Cartí, su padre *Machuchus*(t).²⁾ Desde muy temprana edad crióse sin padre porque éste ya se había divorciado; por eso tuvo que pasar muchas necesidades desde su infancia; acostumbraba pasar las noches oyendo relatos de parte de sus viejos indios.

Como a la edad de diez años comenzó Colman a estudiar el medio de llegar a ser un *saguila* que supiera demostrar o valerse de las intrigas políticas, y de esa manera para que luchara por la raza o conservación de la independencia.

Los primeros estudios de Colman fue el medio de curar cierta enfermedad que hoy en día ni los doctores mas sabios no han descubierto el medio de atacar, la enfermedad vulgarmente llamada locura y en nuestro idioma la traducimos *nialkal* (MS. niaigar) ó "Canción del Diablo."

Después de aprender ésto cantaba innumerable canciones indígenas. Sus maestros viendo la inteligencia esmeraronse en enseñarlo en las ciencias mágicas, tradiciones, la canción de los relámpagos y innumerables más.

Los indios viendo en él auxilio lo nombraron cacique de la isla de Cartí. Meses despues pensó en emigrar hacia las otras regiones del Occidente hasta llegar a la isla de Ailigandí. El señor de su primer matrimonio había dejado en la isla de Cartí una hija.

Los indios de la isla de Ailigandí lo cogieron muy bien; no estuvo soltero Colman por mucho tiempo cuando lo casaron. Éste fué su segundo matrimonio. Esta vez los nativos de esa isla lo nombraron subjefto del cacique Tomás. Éste que fue discípulo de un indio instruido llamado San José durante su regimen de las tribus enseñaba a Colman para que a éste lo nombraran jefe. A pesar que Colman ya conocía

¹ This is the first time I have found the Indian name for Simral Colman in the Cuna literature.

² This must be another man than the one mentioned earlier in the text.

las ciencias religiosas pensó en buscar más conocimientos sobre las ciencias políticas y partió hacia *Pae* (MS. *Paeba* = *Pae pa* = in this case 'to Pae, or Paya'), lugar donde había viejos hechiceros indios considerados profetas y los únicos sobrevivientes desde cuando los españoles residían en las costas de San Blas. Arrebató (MS. "arrabito") uno de aquellos hechiceros de padre español y madre india. Su padre le había dejado escrito historias de los grandes conquistadores, y él que era (MS. *es*) indio muy instruido a la vez pudo enseñar todas estas narraciones y también conocía el mando de un gobierno. Por estas razones Colman pudo aprovechar de su maestro estas ciencias.

Otro de los hechiceros llamabase *Cupi* (Kuppi?). Éste considerado por sus súbditos sacerdote de la región esmerose en enseñar a Colman para que a la vez éste enseñara y cantara a los extranjeros como estaban nuestros antepasados en la civilización. Después de estarse cuatro años por esas tribus regresó Colman a Ailigandí. Como tenía muchos conocimientos en la religión, ya en el año de 1904, cuando el Dr. Amador Guerrero¹⁾ había tomado la administración del Gobierno, nuestras tribus que siempre habían pensado poner al frente de sus instituciones hombres que trabajaron con lealtad y constancia por sus derechos internos, aprovecharon esta ocasión formando (MS. formaron) congreso (los) *saguilas* de los principales tribus para la nominación de Colman cacique o jefe soberano de las comarcas de San Blas. Concienzudamente trabajó este cacique por buscar la mejor felicidad de los *tules* (*i. e.*, the Cuna Indians). Lo primero que hizo fue que el Gobierno nombrara e instalara en la isla del "Porvenir" la intendencia para que ésta a la vez vigilara por los abusos que se les cometieron a los nativos y mantener la plena amistad con los extranjeros o panameños.²⁾

Hoy en día todos los indios de éstas lo recordamos por los tantos beneficios que los prestó por mantener para nuestra raza y civilización. Más tarde enseñó Colman a sus parientes las ciencias y relatábales las narraciones y tradiciones. Por eso no son pocos los indios que aún cuentan con fruición los grandes hechos que llevaron a cabo

¹⁾ He was president of Panama 1904-1908.

²⁾ The foundation of El Porvenir took place during Belisario Porras' government (1912-16). In Carles, 1916, there is a picture showing the president and his party during the act of foundation.

sus antepasados. Entre los discípulos de Colman figuran *Nele*,¹⁾ *Olowikekinya* (MS. Olowigeguina) y *Ikwanihtipipiler* (MS. Iguanicdipipiler)²⁾. Éste último visitó los E. U. en una comisión mandada por Mr. Marsh³⁾ para que fuera a mostrar a las regiones norteños que existían indios blancos y contar como estaban nuestros abuelos en las sociedades arcaicas. Ailigandí es considerado por nuestros subditos cuna de indios que han sabido luchar por la libertad de sus territorios y derechos.

Después de su muerte dejó en Ailigandí de *saguila* Olowikekinya y *saguila* de las comarcas Nele de Kantule.

Copiado por Juan (MS. Juam) M. Colman

Ailigandí 14 de Octubre de 1932.

Nota (para recordar) Colman murió en el mes de Junio de 1930.

Appendix 2

Biographical Notes on Chief Charles Robinson

Title of the Original Document (GEM 47.19.53E) "*Algo sobre la vida de saila Charles Robinson.*"

"El señor *saila* Charles Julius Robinson nació en San Blas, en la isla de Yantup, que es hoy San José de Narganá, el año de 1875. Sus padres fueron el señor *Inetinye* y la señora *Nairkwa* (MS. Nairgua).

Apenas contaba 8 años de edad cuando su padre lo envió al seno de una familia cuyo jefe llevaba el nombre igual al que éste ostenta, es decir Charles J. Robinson, quienes residían en la isla de Providencia.⁴⁾

La familia Robinson trató al niño indígena como de su propia sangre, se afanaron en su educación y le hicieron ingresar a la escuela del lugar donde éste aprovechó bastante. Cuando contaba 24 años de edad regresó a su pueblo natal trayendo consigo un cúmulo de

¹⁾ That is, Nele de Kantule or Ustupu.

²⁾ During our stay in Narganá we met *Ikwanihtipippi*, then chief of Ailigandí. He had been invited by Pérez Kantule to sing for us, which he did. As to his and other Cuna Indians' visit to Washington during portions of November and December 1924, see Densmore, 1926.

³⁾ That is, Mr. Richard O. Marsh. Cf. Stout 1947, p. 86, and, for the Panamanian point of view, Castillero R., 1946, p. 23, sqq.

⁴⁾ That is, in the Colombian archipelago of San Andrés and Providencia.

conocimientos que desde su arribo a la isla de Narganá 1902 no desmayó en ponerlos a comprensión y en provecho del pueblo que le vio nacer.

Fué muy aficionado siempre a las tradiciones y mitologías indígenas,¹⁾ y en la inquietud propia de sus años se afanó por conocer toda la historia de sus antepasados. Se dedicó a hacer preguntas constantes a los mas experimentados en cuanto a la administración del pueblo, y así, poco a poco fue siendo objeto de las simpatías de los mas experimentados y sabios, tanto que el mismo *saila*, que para entonces gobernaba en la isla, considerado como uno de los más inteligentes que se encontraba en el pueblo (y) cuyo nombre era *Apisua* (MS. *abisua* = medicine man), le tomó gran confianza y cariño, y como se dió cuenta de que Charles Robinson había aprovechado mucho en la escuela acerca de la doctrina Cristiana, la cual exaltaba las grandezas del Dios único, cuya religión profesaba la mayor parte de la Comarca²⁾, aquel viejo experimentado lo hacía llamar diariamente para que hablara acerca de la Doctrina y como éste sentía sed de cooperación tenía la ambición de llegar a ser jefe algún día. Nunca se negó a concurrir a los llamados de aquel y no se cansó de perorar hasta que por esto fué nombrado vocero por la mayor parte del pueblo. Después de largo tiempo de cumplir a satisfacción su cargo, el *saila* Apisua enfermó, y a pesar de todos los esfuerzos que el pueblo, que lo quería tanto, hizo, no pudo salvarlo y murió.

El pueblo de San José de Narganá quedó durante cuatro meses sin *saila* y la mayor parte de los principales e influyentes del pueblo se reunieron en consejo para nombrar el que debía sustituir al venerable muerto. Fueron ellos los señores *Panik(k)e* (MS. Panique), Ramo (Ramos), *Ikwayolikikke* (MS. Iguayoliquique), *Olopiya*, José *Kwitol* (MS. Cuidol), *Masnippe*, Joe Harding, Henry, *Palinatipye* (MS. Palinadipye) y muchos otros que escapan a la memoria.

Esta reunión tuvo lugar el 20 de agosto de 1903, en ella Charles J. Robinson fué nombrado *saila*. Y fué hecha la designación levantada una acta extraordinaria. Al terminar tomó la palabra el señor Panik(k)e una acta extraordinaria. Al terminar tomó la palabra el señor Panik(k)e haciéndose vocero del pueblo, e hizo saber que Charles J. Robinson era un joven a quien le sonreía un brillante porvenir y que con él el progreso cada vez más creciente de ese pueblo, llegaría a

¹⁾ The knowledge of the old traditions is a real Cuna virtue.

²⁾ The author here commits an obvious overstatement.

ser una realidad. Que la escogencia no podía ser más acertada ya que todos los que pudieran ser candidatos a esa aspiración eran viejos, de ideas escasas y de poca intuición y visual, prendas que poseía este joven que vería por el porvenir no sólo de ellos sino de sus hijos y del pueblo de Narganá en general. Así fué aclamado *saila* del pueblo de San José de Narganá Charles J. Robinson, personaje que no ha defraudado los vaticinios hechos por aquellos viejos que lo aclamaron un día Jefe Indígena; tanto que, no solo ha hecho por el progreso doméstico de la isla que lo vió nacer, sino también su nombre perdurará conectado a todo lo que indique altitud de miras y progreso de la Comarca de San Blas, puesto que él con sus esfuerzos constantes y su espíritu amplio fué siempre colaborador del Gobierno Nacional en la obra de acercamiento de los aborígenes a la civilización. En la actualidad el Gobierno Nacional le reconoce un sueldo, en premio de su labor, con que le garantiza una vejez sosegada, puesto que en la actualidad no ejerce ya las funciones de jefe en actividad, posesión en que lo ha reemplazado uno de los exponentes más caracterizados de esa región el indígena Estanislao López.

por *saila* Estanislao López, *Saila* general de San Blas desde el año de 1945.

Appendix 3

Indian Account of the Revolution of 1925 and Its Background

Title of the Original Document (GEM 47.19.68): "*Breves narraciones acerca de la revolución de 1925.*"

"Ligados a sus costumbres y leyendas los indios Cunas han vivido varios siglos gobernados por tres *saguilas* generales (sovereign chiefs) cuyas tribus siempre han estado en discordias, debido a la envidia.

Innanakinya (MS. Inmanaquiña), jefe de las tribus de los indios que siempre han deseado ser gobernados por Colombia.

Simral Colman, *saguila* de las tribus de los indios que hoy pertenecen (MS. pertenecieron) al *saguila Nele de Kantule* y *Charles Robinson* (MS. Charlei) de las poblaciones de Narganá y Corazón de Jesús. De estos tres *saguilas* solo dos llevaron buenas relaciones.¹⁾

¹⁾ The author here refers to Innanakinya, Colman and Nele de Kantule, the latter two being on friendly terms.

Por el año de 1903 cuando Panamá se independizó los indios Cunas siguieron las mismas huellas de sus antepasados viviendo sus tribus separadas y gobernadas por Innanakinya y Colman quienes (se) fueron a Panamá y tuvieron entrevista con el P^{te} Dr. Amador Guerrero con fin de que todos ellos se unieron al Gobierno de Panamá. Quedaron de acuerdo en que se implantara la civilización en el seno de la comarca, ayudar a sus moradores para restablecer la armonía, evitar los atropellos y abusos. Se consiguieron 20 becas para que sus hijos fueran a estudiar a los colegios de Panamá, para que más tarde vinieran a prestar servicios en el seno de sus pueblos. Quienes (*i. e.*, the scholarshipholders) sólo llegaron hasta 4^o grado y 1^{er} año; encontrando dificultades no se pudieron enviar a otros a los colegios hasta cuando vino el Dr. Belisario Porras o sea en el año de 1912. Cuando se fundó la Intendencia cuyo primer intendente fué Enrique Hurtado y su secretario Narciso Navas ellos supieron captarse las simpatías y buenas relaciones con los indios por su buen caracter y corazón humanitario. Durante esta administración se nombraron 4 policías indígenas en Ailigandí y otro en Ustup con el fin de que ellos vigilaran el contrabando para que los comerciantes no los engañara(n). Estas buenas relaciones y armonía duró muy pocos años. Los indios siempre querían la civilización y enviaban sus hijos a las escuelas que se habían construido en distintas poblaciones, pero debido a los multiples atropellos que cometían los policías castellanos con los indios y indias durante la administración que ejerció el intendente Humberto Baclin quien les quitó sus privilegios que tenían en la administración pasada despojandolos de su idiosincrasia que ellos querian conservar. Con los mismos *saguilas* se cometieron injusticias sin poder ellos quejarse ante las autoridades porque eran arrestados por los policías.

Se enviaron varias comisiones ante el Presidente con el fin de divulgar la verdad, porque querían conservar sus tradiciones y vivir pacíficamente pero no se les hizo caso.

Para restablecer nuevamente las buenas relaciones se nombro al señor Andrés Mojica de Intendente, a quien los indios le tomaron mucha confianza. Debido a los bochinches y quejas que llevaban los indios que no pertenecían a Colman se volvieron a cometer atropellos, esta vez con más imperio. Los indios no podían celebrar sus fiestas tradicionales, a las indias se les quitaban sus vestidos a la fuerza y atavíos que usaron los antepasados. A los varones se les arrestaba injustamente, no se les reconocía sus derechos. Colman,

Nele y otros *saguilas* fueron arrestados porque se les acusaba de revolucionarios y que ellos no querían escuelas. Sin embargo todos si lo querían pacíficamente, no por medio de la fuerza. Para que los demás siguieran su ejemplo Colman envió a sus hijos a las escuelas de la capital.

A pesar de todo esto siempre a él se le calificaba de promotor de la sublevación. Los indios que vivían en las poblaciones de Tikan-tikki, Playon Chico, Tupile y otras más sufrieron más penalidades atropellos y abusos e injusticias que hoy en día aún lo conservan grabados en sus cerebros porque sus padres se los cuenta(n).

Viendo los *saguilas* que el Gobierno de Panamá no les prestaba ayuda se reunieron los principales *saguilas* y enviaron un memorial ante el Gobierno Americano con el fin de que en el Norte se dieran cuenta de las injusticias y atropellos se cometían con los verdaderos dueños de la América y luchaban por conservar pura su raza. Primero se mandó de los Estados Unidos a un ingeniero para estudiar la situación en que se encontraban los indios. Se mandó una comisión compuesta de indios blancos y morenos para que las autoridades americanas los examinaran. Quienes contaron detalladamente del estado (MS. en el estado) en que se encontraban sus hermanos en el seno de sus pueblos y que ellos siempre han querido estudiar pero que todo ahora se hacia por medio de la fuerza.

Al cabo de un año los indios se reunieron para decidir la manera como se iba efectuar la sublevación. Sólo se había ideado desalojar a todos los agentes a quienes se les tenía odio y quienes habían cometido abusos con las indias, pero poco a poco se aumentó (MS. fueron aumento) la ira y decidieron demoler los colegios.

Al amanecer el 20 de Febrero del año de 1925 se llevó a cabo la sublevación de los indios Cunas, formando la República del Tule y se enarboló la bandera Tule.

Después del acaccimiento llegó un destroyer Americano donde vinieron los ministros de Panamá y E. Unidos. El Dr. Ricardo F. Alfaro¹) como ministro les habló a los indios, y se hicieron las paces y que en adelante no se volverían a cometer injusticias, atropellos, etc. para que no hubiera más derramamiento de sangre, restablecer nuevamente la armonía en los hogares de todos los pueblos de la comarca."

(Por Juan Colman).

¹ Castillero R., 1940, p. 34, gives the name as Horacio F. Alfaro who was then Secretary of the Panamanian Ministry of Foreign Relations.

Appendix 4

Report by Rubén Pérez Kantule of his Sanitary Investigations on Ustupu in March 1944 (p. 4 in GEM 47.19.66):

“El señor Inspector César A. Candanedo antes de ausentarse de la Comarca de San Blas, para asistir en la tercera Conferencia de Salubridad y Asistencia Social, en la ciudad de Aguadulce, nos mandó al pueblo de Ustup con el fin de dedicarnos en los trabajos de exámenes de faeces, tratamientos y hemoglobinas en dicho pueblo. Para no quedarnos mal durante nuestros trabajos me encargué de dirigir los trabajos para demostrar ante los habitantes de los dos pueblos de Ustup.

Primero dedicamos de levantar el censo sanitario, dando por supuesto dar conferencias a medida progresamos en nuestro delicado trabajo que puedo decir, cuando se refiere un trabajo realizando entre los ignorantes que tengo para conquistar algo que merece de llevar un trabajo sin dificultad.

El señor Valentín Lay y Juan Colman se encargaron de levantar censos, que terminaron a lo que nosotros no esperábamos de obtenerlo. Después dedicamos de repartir a nuestras latitas, en que nosotros no podimos de obtener un resultado favorable para nuestro trabajo. Los mayores de edades se opusieron de recibirlas, mientras se recibieron para sus niños.

Para el mejor resultado sobre los tratamientos nosotros pusimos de dar primero nuestro tratamientos a los niños escolares. De allí tuvimos un éxito completo en nuestros trabajos.

Cuando ya ha sido conquistado por completo a los habitantes del pueblo, dije a mis acompañeros que debemos dar nuestros tratamientos con el deseo del pueblo. Y así trabajamos un mes completo, que después nos quedamos ni una onza de Sal Epson, ni una gota de Tetra.

Las noticias sobre nuestros trabajos se regaron en todas partes de la Comarca; y nosotros recibimos a varias comisiones de los distintos pueblos que exigían que vayamos primero a sus pueblos. Como nosotros ya encontramos sin nuestros medicamentos resolvimos de trasladarnos de nuevo a Narganá.

No hemos descansado ni un día durante nuestro trabajo, y seis

noches hemos usado sin dormir alguna cuando nuestro trabajo llegó en completo progreso. Y he aquí el resultado:

Pueblos	Número de habitantes	Examinados	Positivos			Negativos	Tomaron tratamientos	Hemoglobina
			Unc.	Asc.	Tric.			
Ustup	1,163	340	12	325	4	75	939	530
Ustup-Ocopugun	370	96	0	92	4	5	322	224
Total	1,533	436	12	417	8	20	1,401	754

Rubén Pérez Kantule

Alumno-beca

CHAPTER 5

Names of the Chief Neles Descended to the Earth after the Deluge

This document comprises pencil notes on pages 1-2 in a copybook, catalogued as 47.19.50 and acquired at Narganá on April 2, 1947, from Napoleón Hayans (or Haya), brother of Guillermo Haya. The book was written by the latter (which appears, for instance, from his characteristically beautiful handwriting) and left there by him after a visit from Ustupu. Beneath the various texts in the copybook is written in many cases "escrito por Napoleón Hayans," but it is easy to see that the name Guillermo Haya has been erased and substituted by his brother's name. Author or informant of the text was one "Señor Toiquinye." I have reason to believe that this is the same Inatoigíñe who died on Nusatúp in January 1935 and who — as mentioned in Wassén, 1938, p. 136 — also told Guillermo Haya the tale of how the Cuna got the tobacco.

The Spanish headline of the document reads "*Nombre de los principales neles que fue descendido después del Diluvio.*" As we know, the Cuna have the idea of *Muosis*, the great flood (see CES 10, pp. 127, 229, and illustration B in Plate I), which was sent by *Diosaila* as punishment to *Dada Achan's* people. In the document 31.26.7., kept in the museum, it says among other things: "After the destruction the land lay bare and people were lowered again down to the earth, also new animals and plants. After this, *Ibeorgun*¹⁾ came and he prophesied to the people the arrival of the great *neles* on the earth and instructed them how to behave towards their family and their enemies."²⁾ The document thus refers to a succession of such *neles*. In regard to the concept of *nele*, the latter has been frequently dealt with in detail throughout our Cuna literature and I therefore limit myself to a reference as to these men, for example, CES 10, p. 80 sqq. and Wassén, 1938, p. 69 sqq.³⁾

¹⁾ The great mythical hero of the Cuna. See, e. g., CES 10, o. 324 and 321 sqq.

²⁾ CES 10, p. 229.

³⁾ See also Stout, 1947, p. 101. *Ibid.*, p. 32, defines the position of the *neles* as "that of diagnostician of diseases, seer, supreme worker with the supernatural, and theologian."

Before publishing the list and the corresponding translation, a few observations made in San Blas in 1947 regarding the concept of *nele* may, however, be added here.

At the time of our stay at Narganá, a boy named Eusebio Mecilis was said to be a *nele*. He was only 18 years old, a quite ordinary young man of the modern Cuna type. As far as I could observe, he had not yet obtained any special reputation.

According to Mecilis, who in a certain way served as our informant, the following *neles* in 1947 existed in San Blas:

At Río Sidra, one man; on the island of Tigre, one man; at Tikan-tikki, one woman, and besides her a female *sianele* (cacao-*nele*); at Nirkanti, one man and on Mammitup (or Isla Mamey), one man.¹⁾

During our stay at Narganá, a one year old girl died in one of the houses next to where we lived. She was born a *nelekwa*. At that time (March 25) she had been ill for two weeks and in the evenings there was a man trying to cure her by singing. In the song it was told that at the girl's birth *Muu* did not develop her *kurkin*,²⁾ or predisposition, properly. That was the reason why she was ill now. In the night of March 30 the baby *nelekwa* died and during the next day and night all the women belonging to that family were gathered in the house singing about all that they had done in favor of the

¹⁾ According to Stout, 1947, p. 32, there were in 1940 ten *neles* among the San Blas Cuna, of whom four women.

²⁾ For this philosophical concept of the Cuna see CES 10, pp. 303-308. Stout, 1947, p. 43, summarizes: "*Kuwin*, which can be translated as predelection, predisposition, faculty, ability, or talent, is confined to human beings and is centralized in the brain. Not only is there *kuwin* for every activity as, for instance, hunting, but also for every kind of learning, for 'making easy love,' for meeting snakes, for associating with the spirits in dreams and countless others."

Leaving the linguistic discussion to the experts, I would like to use this opportunity to point out that the word *kurkin* seems to be closely related to the word *tequina* given by Oviedo. His explanation that "deste nombre tequina se hace mucha diferencia, porque á qualquiera ques mas hábil y experto en algun arte, assi como en ser mejor montero ó pescador, ó hacer mejor una red ó una canoa ú otra cosa, le llaman tequina, que quiere decir lo mesmo que maestro: — — —" (Tomo III, Lib. XXIX, Cap. XXVI, p. 127) seems to fit in very well with the definition of the concept of *kuwin* given by Nordenskiöld. Cf. also Andagoya's description Cuervo I, II, 1892, p. 84: "Había aquí algunos particulares que se hacían maestros, que ellos le llamaban Tequina, que les decían que hablaban con el diablo, al cual llamaban en su lengua Turra, y este tenía una choza muy pequeña sin puerta y por arriba sin ninguna cabija, y este se metía allí de noche y hacía que hablaba con el diablo, — — —." We may here also find a reference to the so-called *urpa* or ceremonial enclosure of the Cuna.

girl. As children, according to the Cuna, have no sins, she went directly to heaven, and there was no need of a *masarikal* chanter, as for an adult or a more prominent dead person.

On the 1st of April, early in the morning, the dead girl was taken to a canoe in order to be transported to her grave at the river. The body was laid in a little white carton. The men who went in the canoe were dressed in the usual way, but the mourning women wore white head cloths.

Stout, 1947, p. 102, writes: "The present-day *neles* still hold a unique and high status but evidently not so high as formerly."

An excellent example of the veneration in which the *neles* were formerly held is furnished by a note in the report of the Fidalgo expedition published by Cuervo. It says there that a "*Cacique ó Capitán Lele*" lived at Río Cartí Chico. This man, it is said, was "el mas supersticioso de todos los Yndios del Darien y era tenido entre ellos por Santon, y por consiguiente muy considerado y respetado." In 1804, the *nele* was seeking shelter with his *piragua* at the Portobelo coast, not far from Palenque, a village of outlawed Negroes. While he was bathing in a brook, he was murdered by the Negroes who wanted to rob him of his load of tortoise shell. Two Indians, who accompanied this *nele*, succeeded to escape and gave word to the others. The Indians, who were furious and filled with sorrow, made an oath to take revenge and demanded the criminals to be delivered through the governors of Portobelo and Cartagena. In this, however, they were unsuccessful. As they could not be content with the Spaniards' promises to punish the murderers, they began to kill several Spanish officials who are given by name in the report. The murder case broke the friendly relations between the Cuna and the Spaniards which had prevailed since 1801, or, as it is stated in the report: "El asesinato del Capitán Lele produjo se perdiese el fruto que con los esfuerzos del Comandante y oficiales de la Expedición Hidrografica se había conseguido en la pacificación general de los Yndios, yendo nuestros tratantes francamente á la Costa de los Yndios, y estos á nuestros puertos, como se verificaba desde 1801."¹)

If we now return to the Cuna document, it is to be noticed that most of the names of *neles* in the list are preceded by the term

¹) Expedición Fidalgo. Cuervo, t. 1, 1891, p. 258.

ibelele, while in the headline it merely says *neles*. The former term in the text is preferably understood as a poetical name of honor, not the homonymous name of the sun (for which see CES 10, p. 324).¹⁾ When Rubén Pérez Kantule interviewed the aged Indian Iguatinigña about *Ibelele* it appeared that the old man considered "that the sun and *Ibelele* were the same thing" (Wassén, 1938, p. 77). Of these particularly esteemed *neles* it says in the text that they "*eran el Rey de . . .*," that is to say, saw the chief of a certain animal. Clairvoyance is the predominant quality of *neles*, which they develop by the use of medicines. According to Pérez Kantule with whom I discussed this at Narganá, the expression saw implies that the *nele* in question owned these animals. In a broader sense this information may be interpreted to state that the ancient *neles*, through their capacity of clairvoyance, could enter into close relations with the animal chiefs (a kind of spirits). In CES 10, p. 87, it says: "Formerly — and perhaps even nowadays — it would happen that a *nele* received visits from the wild animals of the forest. The *nele* then went into a partitioned part of the hut and sat down and bent his thoughts on the origin of the animals, and then he sang."

In the following list of names the Cuna words are italicized with the normalized spelling in parenthesis. The essential explanations follow immediately after each numbered line.

- 1) *Ibelele*²⁾ (*Ipelele*) *Salumán*, *Ibelele Salumekca* (*Salumekka*);

The two names are derived from *salu*, the name of a showy species of macaw (*Ara*).

- 2) *I. Yabelele* es *yannu cana* (*yannukana*). *Yannucana* vió el Rey de *yannu* y *yauk*.

This *nele* is medicine man (*kana*) with power over the peccary (*yannu*) and the turtle (*yaukka*).

- 3) *I. Yalikalele* (*Yalikalele*) es *saibacana* (*saipakana*), *naibecana* (*naipekana*), vió el Rey de *Saiba* y *Olosaquiplot* (*Olosakkipel*);

This *nele* has power over *saipa* (by the Indians explained as the Spanish *sirena* and further over snakes (*naipa*), having seen the chiefs of these.

¹⁾ See also Wassén, 1938, p. 117. According to information by Nils M. Holmer, there is no doubt the original word for 'sun' the Chibcha *iyua* and several related forms in the Central American Chibchan languages (e. g. *ichua* in the Takananean languages) are derived from the same stem: the last mentioned form being in reality almost identical with the Cuna derivation *ibayua* (*ipakua* 'little sun'), the common designation for albinos. As for their relation to sun and moon, see CES 10, p. 420-421.

²⁾ In the continuation of the list here abbreviated to I.

- 4) *I. Hiccabalele* (Ikkapalele) es *ucunaibecana* (ukkunaipekana), vió el Rey de *ucunaibe* (ukkunaipe);
Has power over rattlesnakes (*ukkunaipe*).
- 5) *I. Ickalele* (Ikkalele) es *naibecana*, vió el Rey de *naibe*;
Has power over snakes.
- 6) *I. Huccalele* (Ukkalele) es *quiplocana* (kiplokana), vió el Rey de *kinquitulecana* (kinkitulekana);
Has power over the *kiplo*-bird, a kind of *gallinazo*, and also visited the king of wasps (*kinkitulekana*).
- 7) *I. Hacbana* (Akpana or Aipana) es *pansuscana* (pansuskana), vió el Rey de *pansus*; Has power over hummingbirds (*pansus*).
- 8) *Habana* (Apana) es *Dadbanecana* (Tatpanekana), vió el Rey de *dadbane*; *Tatpane* = hummingbird?
- 9) *Cubilel* es *necobandulcana* (nekopantulkana) y *muhucana* (muukana), vió el Rey de *Muhu* (Muu) y *Palucungui* (palukunki);
Has power over earthquakes (*nekopantul*) and birth genii (*muu*, pl. *muukana*); he saw the principal *Muu* and *palukungi* (*palu* means salt). For the most extensive text about *Muu* and the *Muukana*, see Holmer and Wassén 1947.
- 10) *Oquelele* (Okelele) es *muhucana*, vió el *Muhuyochichi* (Muuyochichi), *Muhuhualaluppisobi* (Muuwalaluppisopi), *M. Hualayai* (Muuwalalayai), *M. Pebetacu* (Muupetaku), *Muhu Hurhuabunyai* (Muuurwapunyai), *Muhu ibuni* (Muuiipuni), *Muhupucube* (Muupukube) y *Muhu Palusop* (Muupalusop);
Has powers over different birth genii also. The *Cuna* seem to have a profuse flora of these genii for in spite of the enumerations found in various parts, only *Mupuklip* and *Muupetaku* are mentioned elsewhere (Holmer and Wassén, 1947, p. 39 and Wassén, 1938, p. 82), while another, *Muuyochichi* shows some resemblance with the *Muu-Osichi* mentioned in Wassén, 1938, p. 82.
- 11) *I. Olloccalele* (Ollokkalele) *inacana*, vió el Rey de *Sallitummat*;
This *nele* is a medicine man (*inakana*); He visited the chief of the woodpeckers (*sallitummat*).
- 12) *I. Tuttuscalele* es *sallicana*;
This *nele* also has power over woodpeckers (*salli*).
- 13) *I. Santali* es *ponicana*, vió el Rey de *ponis*;
Has power over the diseases (*poni*) and saw their chief.
- 14) *I. Nalu* es *nalucana*, vió el Rey de *nalus*;
Has power over *macaws* (Sp. *guacamayo*, *Cuna nalu*).
- 15) *I. Pucasui* es *pucsucana* (Puksukana), vió el *Pucasu* (Puksu);
Visited the Morning and Evening star (*Puksu*, who is thought to be a man).
- 16) *I. Masartummi* es *masarcana*, vió el Rey de *masar*;
Has power over *virull* (Sp. *caña brava*; See Wassén, 1940, p. 137-139).
- 17) *I. Olocana*, vió el Rey de oro;
Has power over gold (*olo*).

- 18) *I. Caccatodo* (Kakkatoto) es *Dadcana* (Tatkana), vió el buque de sol y camino del sol;
This *nele* (= 'little mouth?') has power over the sun (*tata*) and saw his boat and followed his road. Nordenskiöld, 1930, p. 19 sqq., and plate IV deals with the idea of the sun ship according to information received by the medicine man Charlie Nelson of Cueptí. In the Song of a Frog at Sunrise, published by Wassén, 1938, p. 175, it says (normalized): *Tata Nakipelel neka ulu onakkwiali*, which means 'the Sun, making his boat rise (in the sky)'.
- 19) *I. Cunchali* (Kunsali) es *maracana*, vió el Rey del trueno;
Has power over the thunder (*mará*).
- 20) *I. Coecana* (Koekana), vió el Rey de *coe* (koe);
Has power over deer (*koe*).¹⁾
- 21) *I. Tincet* es *tinsailakana*;
Has power over wood-boring insects (cf. Holmer and Wassén, 1947, p. 52: 332, and CES 10, p. 86). *Tinsailakana* also "cortar por medio de pensamiento."
- 22) *I. Tinuda* es *tinsailakana*;
Idem.
- 23) *I. T'antiquilel'* Piminkilel es *tinsailaesutiquileana*;
This *nele* has power over another kind of wood-boring insects (*tinsailaes-nalikiit* = saw-like *tinsaila*). There is a certain similarity between the name of this *nele* and the one mentioned in Holmer and Wassén, 1947, p. 27: 335.
- 24) *I. Tinhuabalele* (Tinwapalele) es *tinpicicana*;
Another *nele* with power over wood-boring insects.
- 25) *I. Tulicana*, vió el Rey de *tuli*;
Has power over *Tuli* = Span. "el pájaro oropéndola", 'loriot', 'golden oriole'.
- 26) *I. Pokcocana* (Pokkokana), vió el Rey de *pokco* (pokko);
Has power over the *Pokko*-bird. According to the Indians = "clase de garza grande".
- 27) *I. Cukdarcana* (Kuktarkana), vió el Rey de *Cuktar* (Kuktar);
Has power over the *Kuktar*, a plant like the *otó* (*Xanthosoma violaceum*) but with great leaves, of lilac color.

¹⁾ As has been pointed out by Gassó and Nordenskiöld (see CES 10, p. 370) the Cuna use metaphorically the term *koe-kae* 'to catch deer' when they, according to one of their sex attitudes, want to avoid to declare for the children how a baby has been born. Holmer has annotated *koepipi* for 'little, small, newly born'. The deer is thus connected with child birth. As ethnological parallels between the Cuna and the Kaggaba always are of greatest interest I may mention here that, according to Nicolás de la Rosa's "La Floresta," the same idea was prevailing among the "Aurohuacos" Indians of Sierra Nevada (Kággaba) in the 18th century. He says: "Las indias en sus partos acostumbran el baño como las otras, y las mismas circunstancias, nombres y apellidos de pájaros, mas la que no siendo casada, pare, es reputada la cria por hijo de venado, y así le llaman; — (De la Rosa, 1945, p. 264).

- 28) *I. Achucana*, vió el Rey de *qchuparpat*;
This *nele* has power over certain jaguars (*achuparpat*).
- 29) *I. Hikibalele* (Ikipalele) es *caburcana* (kapurkana) ó *cahubicana* (kaupikana);
Has power over chili (*kapur* or *kaup*).
- 30) *I. Inacana*, fué contado todas las raíces;
Cf. 11. It is stated that he was told everything about roots.
- 31) *I. Siacana*, vió el Rey de cacao y *siaicaltuledi* (siaikaltuleti);
This *nele* is a *siaikaltuleti*, one who knows *siaikala*, or the song about cacao.
- 32) *I. Curquincana* (Kurkinkana) es *curquincaltuledi* (kurkinikaltuleti);
This *nele* is a *kurkinikaltuleti*, one who knows the *kurkinikala*, song for headache (see CES 10, p. 593 sqq.).
- 33) *I. Paclibe* es *packacana*, vió el Rey de *packa* (pakka);
This *nele* has power over whales (*pakka*).
- 34) *I. Panchu* (Pansu) es *packacana* (pakkakana);
Idem.
- 35) *I. Taclicca* (Taklikka) es *packacana*;
Idem.

CHAPTER 6

Picture Writing

The scanty material collected by us during 1947 pertaining to the picture-writing of the Cuna adds practically nothing to our previous knowledge of this mnemonic system.

As described on p. 59, during our stay among the Eastern Cuna at R. Caimán Nuevo in Colombia, we observed and collected balsa boards with drawings in black paint. The boards had been used during an *innusant* or *innakopet* ceremony, the second of the "Girl's Feasts" celebrated when reaching maturity (*serkuet*). According to Stout, 1947, p. 36, during this feast, "the *kantule* gives orders for the commencement of each episode and occupies a high position during this time." As for the painted boards, the same author also states (p. 104): "Though those painted by the women are, and possibly always have been, pure design, the planks hung in the men's half of the ceremony house directly opposite the *kantule* are covered with drawings which serve as reminders of the various topics of episodes in his chants."¹)

Whether the planks used in the second chief's house at R. Caimán Nuevo had been painted by men or women, I do not know. Norden-skiöld, 1928, p. 260, says, speaking of two balsa boards acquired by him among the Eastern Cuna in 1927, that these are painted by a person, especially selected for this task, who receives a piece of meat in remuneration for his work. He also explains the

¹) Gassó (Vol. XX, p. 253) refers to an older system of picture writing with engraved figures when he says: "Antes escribían estos indios su escritura de jeroglífico en unas tablillas que hacían de la madera blanda que llamamos *balsa*, grabando con un especie de estilete las figuritas; unas les representaban palabras ó ideas, y otras, notas musicales. Con tales tablillas á la vista cantaban los muchos cantares ó tratados de sus ciencias, artes, conocimientos y costumbres." The function of these engraved boards thus seems to have been of the same mnemonic character as that of the painted *balsa* boards. Gassó also says that he had in his possession a book with picture writings which, however, he lost during his voyages.

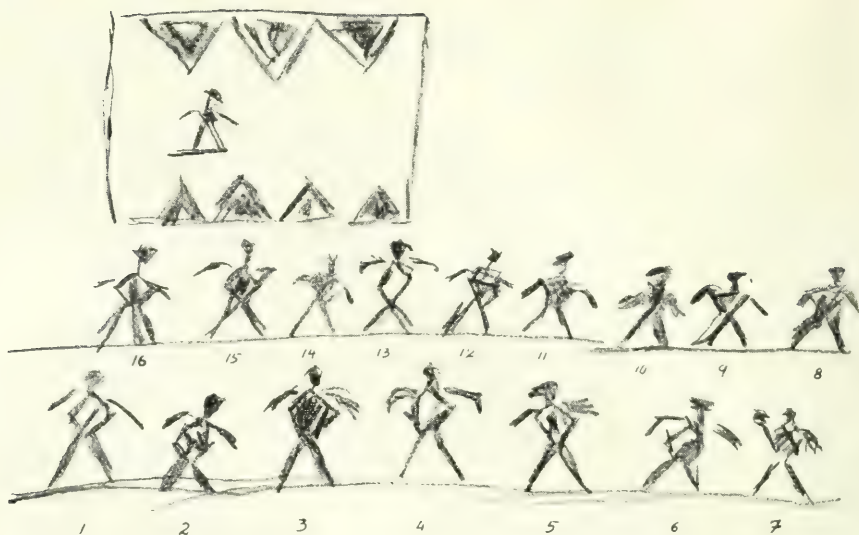


Fig. 42. Copy of a picture writing made by 1st chief Manitinali, R. Caimán Nuevo, Colombia. The original (Cat. No. 47.21.1) in colors. Size 17×10 cms.
Explanation on page 115.

similarity of the two boards exhibited during the same feast by saying that one of the boards is for the *kantule*'s, the other for their wives.

The labyrinth motif at both ends of the boards (figs. 24 f and 25) was said to stand for "fire." Unfortunately, we did not get the explanation of the other figures in detail, but if we compare the figures on the planks with picture writing on paper, collected previously among the San Blas Cuna, we notice several close similarities. One of these similarities consists, for instance, in the system of painting the earth as a quarter or half of a coconut (cf. Nordenskiöld, 1930, pl. II). The Cuna medicine man Charlie Nelson of Cueptí used to draw the culture heroes in this way standing on hemispheres (see Nordenskiöld, 1930, fig. 14). The bird that is seen above the earth symbol can most probably be identified with the sun-ship bird which is seen in San Blas pictographs. Finally, the way of placing a number of figures in a row below some houses directly turns one's mind to one of the leaves of picture writing published by Nordenskiöld, 1930, fig. 11. I therefore think that we are quite entitled to consider even these paintings on balsa

planks as real picture writings and not pure design as for instance the ornaments on the women's *molas* or blouses.¹⁾

Two small samples of real picture writing on paper were collected among the Eastern Cuna in Colombia. The first of these (47.21.1, fig. 42) forms part of a song about cacao (*siaikal*), and was made by first chief Manitinali. It shows differently colored "cacao women."

Chief Manitinali gave us the following names of the "cacao women":

1. *Punakelikkwa akasipu* ('yellowish white'; painted yellow).
2. *Punakelikkwa alulukkwalele* ('pink *nele*'; painted red).
3. *Punakelikkwa yolinalale* ('red *nele*'; painted red).
4. *Punakelikkwa lele sakoukkwalele* ('bicolored *nele*'; painted red and purple).
5. *Punakelikkwa wawakkwalele* ('grandchild *nele*?) painted green),
6. *Punakelikkwa nerwaliki* (?; ²⁾ painted green).
7. *Punakelikkwa tukkuekurkwalele* (*akua*-fruit *nele*?; painted black).
8. *Punakelikkwa arrapalele* ('blue *nele*'; painted purple).
9. *Punakelikkwa kutturkwalele* ('dark brown *nele*'; painted green).
10. *Punakelikkwa lele sullewalele* (?; painted red).
11. *Punakelikkwa lele wewekkwalele* ('flea *nele*?; ³⁾ painted purple).
12. *Punakelikkwa lele yolinawewekkwalele* (?; ³⁾ painted green).
13. *Punakelikkwa lele akasipuwewekkwalele* (?; ⁴⁾ painted red and blue).
14. *Punakelikkwa lele neklokkwalele* ('black *nele*'; painted yellow and green).
15. *Punakelikkwa nelekkwalele* ('wise *nele*'; painted blue).
16. *Punakelikkwa tuksuikkwalele* ('long-edged *nele*'; painted black).

In the top left corner of the pictograph there is a square with seven triangular pieces inside, along two sides, painted red, purple, yellow, and green. In the middle of this square, there is placed a human figure, painted red. Manitinali declared the square to be a *pirya*

¹⁾ As for the origin of the actual type of *mola*, Rubén Pérez Kantule was of the opinion that these were first only made as a kind of belt with the rest of the shirt made of some kind of common dark blue cloth. Such *molas* may still be seen on old women in the villages "río arriba," i. e. the Eastern part of San Blas. Successively the decorative part of the *molas* were enlarged, the one-colored cloth decreasing to the actual proportions with a broad part of decorative appliqué work and a short part of plain cloth for the neck band and the shoulders. The correctness of this explanation is confirmed by the investigations of Stout, 1947, p. 67.

The women sew their *molas*, but several men specialize in making the decorative designs. In 1947 there was one in Ustupu and another one, named Bernardino López, at Niatup. The latter could first make no drawings at all but having bathed eight days in medicines he became a very skilful composer of *mola* designs. He was also the master who made a color drawing of a toucan (Catalogue No. 47.19.13).

²⁾ Cf. *naruali*, 'rayado' (CES 10, p. 578).

³⁾ Cf. *ueuegua* — not translated, in Ces 10, p. 578.

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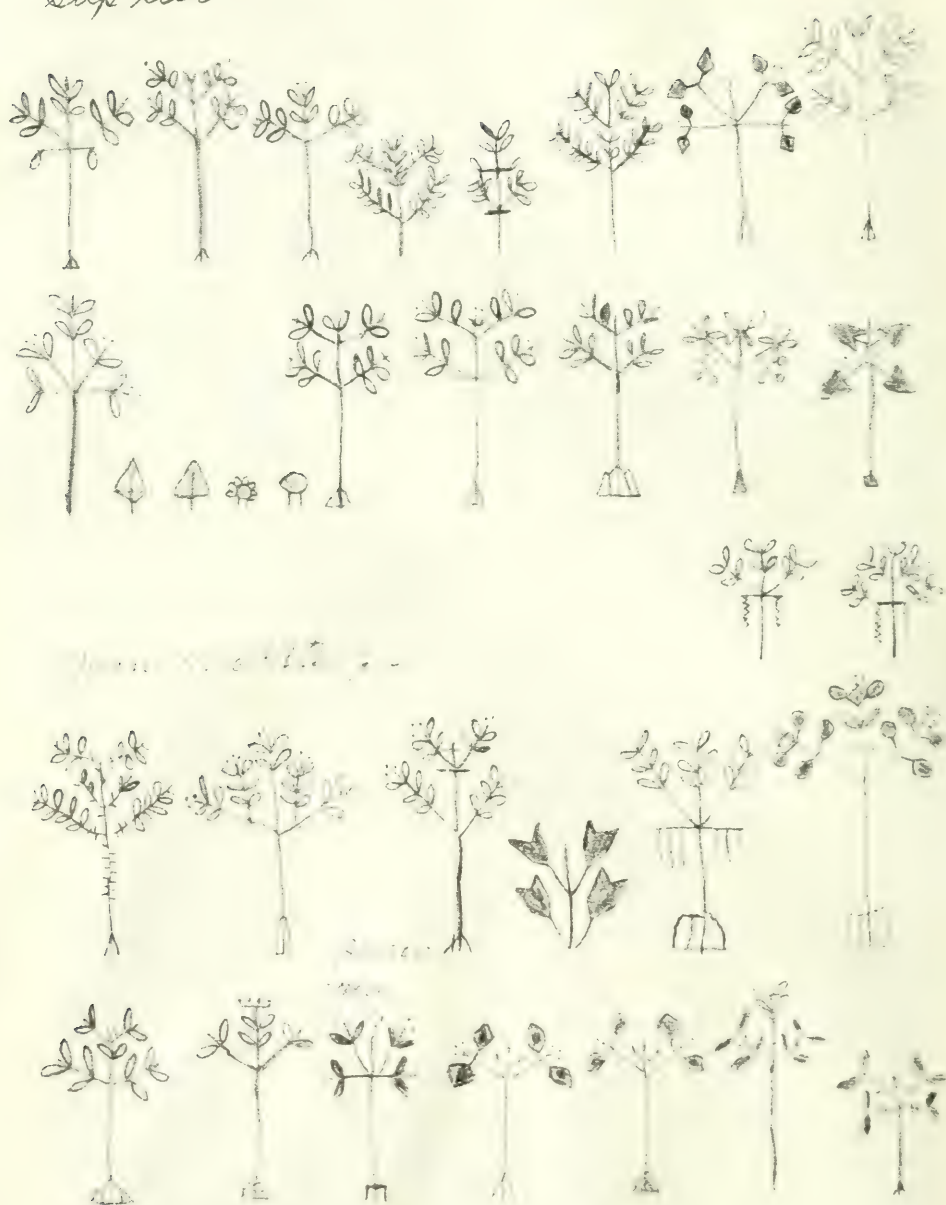


Fig. 43. Copy of a picture writing made by Juan Arteaga. The original (Cat. No. 47.21.2) in colors. Size 43×16 cms. See page 117.

(demon's abode), the human figure, *tulemimmi* (Indian baby), and the triangular pieces, *paraiparaikaa* ('little ones'). The *tulemimmi* no doubt is the soul of the person to be cured, perhaps a child; which is captured and brought to the *pirya* by the demons. By their form, the triangular pieces would suggest demon houses within the *pirya*,¹⁾ but Manitinali's interpretation does not seem to fit in with this theory. In the *siaigala*, which is printed in CES 10 (p. 588), *tule pun pun* occurs, evidently in reference to the souls of the cacao beans, which are 'transformed into little men'. Possibly Manitinali has misunderstood the significance of this detail in the pictograph.

The second picture writing acquired at R. Caimán Nuevo (see fig. 43) was given to me by the young Indian secretary, Juan Arteaga, and deals with the important source for obtaining black color, the *saptur* or *Genipa Americana*. The original with its gay colors makes a very vivid impression.

The book (Cat. No. 47.19.49) acquired by Holmer on Ustupu — it belonged to Iguaticibinappi — contains a version of the *Apsoketikala* ('the exorcist's song') one of the principal medicine songs of the Cuna, but no picture writing at all. The song, written in different hands, is very long, comprising 82 pages of an account book, and is divided into 3 parts, with subdivisions. It mainly consists of incantations for the stopping of epidemics (cf. CES 10, p. 493 sqq.).

The only instance of picture writing on paper found at Narganá consisted in an attempt by Gabriel Solano, an Indian, to represent the song *Sikkai kine namakhet* ('the song of the birds') by means of a series of pencil-drawn birds of similar shape (in seven rows, with eight to ten in each row), partly painted in water colors. The work is obviously very careless, but the song will be published by Holmer in his Cuna Chrestomathy.

¹⁾ As in a pictograph found in a composition book which Nordenskiöld brought from San Blas (Cat. No. 22.17.11.22).

CHAPTER 7

Cuna Tales

In chapter 4 it was mentioned on page 99 (footnote 2) that during our stay in Narganá we met Ikwanihtippi, chief of Ailigandí. When Pérez Kantule visited him at Ailigandí in 1941, this Indian (fig. 44) had dictated several Cuna legends to him, which the latter kept in part, typewritten and translated into Spanish. In order to enable me to continue publishing Cuna tales, my friend Pérez lent me five of his manuscripts, namely 1) *La sobrina rana* (47.19.51 a), 2) *El cuento de "nono olocua"* (47.19.51 b), 3) *La cortada del árbol del mundo* (47.19.57), 4) *El viaje de una vieja al pueblo de los gallinazos* (47.19.60) and 5) *El Tigre y el Fuego* (47.19.61).

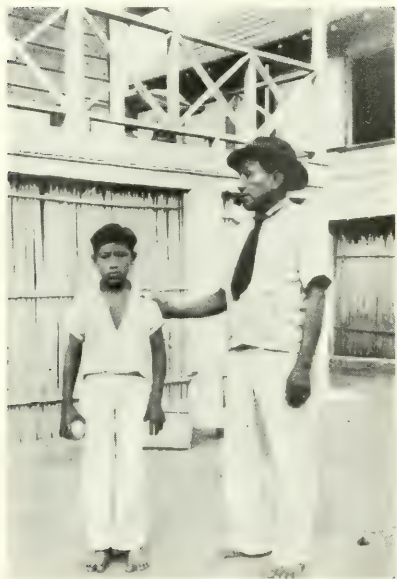


Fig. 44. Ikwanihtippi, chief of Ailigandí, with his son during a visit to Narganá in 1947.

Of these texts, Nos. 1, 2, and 5 have clearly been told by Ikwanihtippi, but I am publishing only the first two, as No. 5 is nearly identical with the legend published by me as No. IV in Wassén 1934, p. 8 sqq. As for No. 3, "The Felling of the (World-)Tree," there is no statement as to the narrator, and as the text has nearly nothing of interest to add to our previous knowledge of this motif from the Cuna it will be omitted here. Then remains No. 4 above, "The Voyage of an Old Woman to the Vulture Village," which text, even if only fragmentary, is of a certain interest and thus ought to be included here. Pérez

stated that it was told to him by a curer at Ailigandi in 1942. This, however might, be the same Ikwanihtippi who told the other stories.

As the Spanish in the three texts published here requires considerable emendation, I have preferred to translate them. The comments follow after the three tales.

The texts.

1. The Frog that Substituted for a Niece

(47.19.51 a)

Up the Tuira river there lived a family in a house not far from the village of Ukkupneka.¹⁾ An old woman had a niece who lived in that village. One day she saw the niece coming towards her, carrying *matunokalel*²⁾ in a big jar. The niece gave this to the old woman who poured the drink into a vessel of her own. The niece went away to her house.

The following day she returned with *matunsia*³⁾ which the old woman received with pleasure. The next day the girl appeared again, this time carrying the *sukar*-drink,⁴⁾ which the old woman and her husband drank with pleasure. The following day they were brought the *kwata*.⁵⁾ The fifth day the niece came with *kwata ollikwa*.⁶⁾

The sixth day the old woman, having received so many good beverages, thought of bringing one of her own to her niece's house. She went off carrying with her a vessel of drink to please her niece. On her arrival the girl received her affectionately and asked her to sit down.

Said the old woman: "We were always very happy when you came to bring us all those drinks."

Answered the niece: "I was never in your home to bring you these different drinks you speak of. I was always alone in my house."

The old woman repeated that the young one had brought the

¹⁾ The 'Sandy place'.

²⁾ A beverage prepared of smoked plantain.

³⁾ A drink of ripe bananas and cocoa.

⁴⁾ Sugar and water.

⁵⁾ A beverage made of maize and sugar cane.

⁶⁾ Same as foregoing but thick as paste.

beverages and the latter upheld her denial to this. Then the old woman, very thoughtful, returned to her house.

She told everything to her husband and he said: "Well, let's see. I will get up very early tomorrow to bathe and I am going to be most watchful."

The following day the old man got up early, had his bath and sat down to watch for the girl. After a short while he saw the same girl coming towards the house as on the previous days. He didn't move his eyes, but kept on looking steadfastly at the girl's face, and she was embarrassed by the old man's steady gaze. She brought with her a drink which she gave to the old woman and returned.

The old man pursued the girl who fled away. She went up a big tree and then down again, whilst the old man followed. When he reached the tree he couldn't see the girl any more. He saw only a big frog near the tree, which he killed with strokes of his *machete*.

2. Nono olokwa — The Round Head

(47.19.51 b)

In the village of Kwasirwila¹⁾ there lived Cuna Indians who always made trips to the mountains in the interior. One day three friends desired to make such a trip to the south where there was another Cuna village named Kwinupti.

The three friends went away, one of them carrying his hammock with him. They went on walking and walking and on their way they were overtaken by nightfall. The man who brought his hammock arranged it between the trees and the other two went to sleep on the ground below the hammock.

When they were all asleep one of them on the ground noticed something like water trickling down on him. He called his companion in the hammock to see if he was urinating in his sleep. The man didn't answer and the other was drenched by this liquid the whole night. At dawn he noticed that his shirt was all soaked with blood. The eyes of his friend in the hammock were still glowing, but the body had been eaten up by *Achu simutupalet*.²⁾ The friends became frightened and hid their comrade's head in the bush. They ran to

¹⁾ This village was said to be located at the river Banano = Sankanti, near Ailikanti.

²⁾ A dragon with a "long navel."

the village, but the head followed and caught up with them. They turned far away again but the head always came after them. The men kept running and running but the head always caught up with them and they thus arrived at the village together with the *nene alokwa*.¹⁾ The head went directly to the house of its wife and jumped up into the woman's lap. She was frightened and cried when she saw her husband without any body.

3. The Voyage of an Old Woman to the Vulture Village

(47.19.60)

An old woman was living in poor conditions with her family. She didn't know how to seek food for herself and she searched everywhere to find something to eat. One day a strange man appeared who brought her to his village.²⁾

When the people noticed that the old woman had disappeared from her village they decided to investigate with the help of a *nele* who lived in the village. This *nele* was Wakiplel, a great diviner and curer. He told the people that the old woman had been carried away by a vulture that came to her in the shape of a man. Now, the woman frequently came down with the other vultures to look for food on the earth. The *nele* advised the people that he, by means of his knowledge of the origin of the vultures, would bring down the vultures together with the old woman. He further ordered them to alight in a big tree and that the people should build the *surpa* (enclosure) below that tree, and this the people did. The *nele* also told the people that the old woman was flying with her feet hanging down in a different way from the other vultures.³⁾ This was noticed when the birds began to come down from the world above. The villagers were hiding and the vultures approached in numerous flocks. Among them was the woman with her feet hanging down. When the vultures had come to the earth, the people ran to the old woman. They caught her, brought her to the village and deplored her. She still screamed and ate like a vulture and so the Indians changed her to a human being by means of a medicine. The woman

¹⁾ Round head. Cf. p. 126, footnote 1.

²⁾ MS. "al pueblo arriba."

³⁾ MS. "que el modo de volar la vieja, era siempre con los pies colgados no como los demás gallinazos."

told her people that she had been in the upper world where the vultures lived. They traveled in a big boat which, when it arrived at a certain spot, circled around and around and thus continued flying in circles in the air.

Comments.

It is beyond the scope of this work to enter into a lengthy comparative description of Cuna myths and tales. A few remarks may, however, be made to those published here.

The first tale, which is probably only the beginning of a longer story, seems to me of interest because of the fact that there is reflected once more the fertility and generosity often connected with frogs and toads in Indian mythology.¹⁾ The Frog brings different kinds of beverages to the Old Woman and her husband; yet this story clearly reflects the danger of coming into contact with a frog spirit.²⁾

The second tale, that about the rolling head, is — if genuine among the Cuna — of special interest owing to the fact that it represents one of those motifs which, according to Ehrenreich, 1905, p. 78, are common to Asia and America with stress on North America.³⁾ The occurrence in Central and South America should only be sporadic. However, the motif of the rolling skull reveals in this case a typical combination with an evil spirit or ogre,⁴⁾ here named *Achu simutupalet*. This is a very mysterious mythical animal which the Cuna have difficulties in explaining except for the fact that it has a "long navel." As for the version published here, it seems to be truncated. My friend, D. B. Stout, has told me that he once heard another Cuna version of the rolling head motif which ended with the statement that the coconut palm came from such a head which the Indians buried. This idea of certain palms having been derived from human beings is in any case not new to the South American Indians.⁵⁾

Among the Catío Indians of Colombia, who, according to their own traditions (as well as those of other Chocó groups), had long and hostile contacts with the Cuna, we also find the bodyless rolling

¹⁾ Cf. Wassén 1934 a, p. 630 sqq.

²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 634.

³⁾ See, for instance, Dorsey and Kroeber, 1903, p. 70.

⁴⁾ Among the Apinayé the combination of the motifs of the rolling skull and the ogre motif of the sharpened leg is found. See Nimuendajú, 1939, p. 175.

⁵⁾ See Roth, 1915, p. 146, sqq.

head motif. According to Severino de Santa Teresa, 1924, p. 18, the Domicó, one of the Catío clans, were fighting against the Cuna and won. The story goes on: "Cortaron las cabezas de los vencidos y las condujeron al bohío del Capitán Domicó y las suspendieron al rededor de él. Aquellas cabezas se movían por sí solas y se erizaban sus cabellos cuando se acercaba algún Cuna. De este modo venían a ser como un toque de alarma para los Domicós o Catíos."

Preuss, 1921, p. 109-110, gives a moon-mythological explanation of the rolling head motif among the Uitoto Indians.¹⁾ Also there we find the detail of evil spirits eating the body of a human being (a woman). The head fastens itself on her husband's shoulder and can hardly be removed from there.

As for the third tale, the motif of a visit to the vulture country is found both among the Chocó and Cuna,²⁾ to refrain from discussing its occurrence outside Darien. In Darien it is very old, being mentioned by Adrian de Santo Thomas.³⁾

Also in other Cuna tales about vultures these birds are said to travel in boats up to heaven.⁴⁾ The Cuna probably found some resemblance between the majestic manner of these birds flying high up in the sky and the sailing that they so masterfully perform themselves. As far as I know, the vultures are not found among the passengers on the Sun or Moon ships of the Cuna Indians.⁵⁾

It is a surprising idea in the Indian imagination that the vultures, considering their way of living, are often — as in this tale — depicted as quite harmless and friendly toward human beings. The vulture does not maltreat the Old Woman in any way. This trait is common to several other vulture tales among South American Indians.⁶⁾

¹⁾ Cf. also de Goeje, 1943, p. 105-106.

²⁾ See Wassén, 1933, p. 114 and 132 and Wassén, 1934 b, p. 14 and 31-32.

³⁾ Requejo Salcedo, 1908 (1640), p. 134: "Esta ceremonia dicen aprendieron de una yndia que haviendosele muerto so hijo, un gallinazo la habló y dio noticia de donde estaua, y subiendola sobre sus alas la mostró la cassa de los gallinazos y las necesidades que alli passaban sus auitadores."

⁴⁾ Wassén, 1934 b, p. 14.

⁵⁾ Nordenskiöld, 1930, p. 48, sqq.

⁶⁾ See, for instance, Nimuendajú, 1946, p. 247, "Haha'k and the King Vulture." The latter did not make the man named Haha'k eat the repulsive dishes of the *urubús*, "but entertained him with roast meat and manioc flatcakes." Also Nimuendajú, 1930, p. 124, "The Visit to the Sky."

De Goeje, 1943, p. 53, includes the vultures among the medicine birds of the Guiana Indians.

The full context of this tale clearly reveals that the man who wrote it, in this case Rubén Pérez Kantule, was an educated Indian, yet to a certain extent trained in the special literature dealing with the spiritual culture of the tribe. An Indian who did not know at least some of the scientific books about the Cuna would not express himself as Pérez does, "by means of his knowledge of the origin of the vultures,"¹⁾ etc. As we know, the importance of knowing the origin of a certain thing in order to be able to control and use it is one of the fundamental principles of Cuna magic, which has been treated in several places.²⁾

¹⁾ MS. "Se advirtió a la gente que él por medio de su conocimiento sobre el origen de los gallinazos," etc.

²⁾ See, for instance, Stout, 1947, p. 44, and CES 10, p. 620.

CHAPTER 8

The Story of Olgán or Órgan, the Man of Gold

(47.19.56)

Among the great culture heroes of their tribe, the Cuna list one Olgán or Órgan. This hero, like the others of his kind, came down from heaven to earth on a plate of gold, a Cuna Indian mythological trait which, except for the plate or bar of gold, we find as early as 1640 in the writings of Adrian de Santo Thomás from Darien.¹⁾

Órgan has already been treated in a short document written by Rubén Pérez Kantule and published in CIES 10, p. 280, sqq. Among the documents which the same Pérez Kantule lent me in Narganá in 1947, there is one comprising seven typewritten pages dealing with this culture hero. The document in question (47.19.56) is obviously the first in a series planned by Pérez under the heading "*Detrás de los documentos originales de mi raza cuna, para la historia nacional*," of which, however, I do not know of any continuation. In answer to my question whether the Spanish text had been published, Pérez said no, and he gladly gave me the permission to include it here. In doing this, I have, however, chosen to translate it into English for the sake of uniformity; even though Pérez in this case used his best literary Spanish, the language of the original is and ought to be retained. It is much to be regretted that I did not succeed in obtaining the thirty-seven explanations which Pérez, judging from marks in the manuscript, intended to go with the context, especially as the author himself says in an introduction to the text that "*la interpretación y traducción de los documentos son trabajos muy delicados para un buen investigador y por lo tanto se necesita pasar mucho tiempo para llegar a la comprensión de tales documentos*."

¹⁾ See the comments on p. 147 sqq.

The Text about Organ¹)

"Before I analyze the personality of this man, I will say a few words about his birth place and the people there. The reader will marvel at what I tell because it will tear apart the veil behind which old traditions regarding our forefathers and the places where they lived have remained hidden.

"There was a river where the first Cuna lived, a river which was great and charming to our grandfathers, a river where the important Cuna men were born and where the wise Cuna were lowered down; the theologians, historians, moralists, archaeologists, etc., — all that represent the perfection of the Cuna race.

"Along this river there were various settlements and dialects. The river was named Tuile.²) Here the Cuna first lived, without knowledge of nature and of what mother nature involves in her development and gestation. They only knew how to love one another. They helped each other, working in the fields. They sowed what they wanted and harvested their crops by an instinctive action.

"As they were living like this, they one day saw that the atmosphere and the mountains were covered with blue and white mists so that the mountains could not be seen. When it grew dark nothing could be seen and from the mists were heard the noises of wild beasts, of the jaguars and tigers. According to them (*i. e.*, the forefathers) it was the noise of *Achu-karman*, *Poo-achu* and *Achusimutupalet*.³) They all became afraid of this manifestation of nature and asked each other: "What is going to happen to us?" "What do these blue and white mists mean?" and "Why so many monstrous animals?" No one could answer these anxious questions.

"To investigate the meaning of the mist and the roaring of the

¹) Pérez Kantule translates "*hombre de oro (conocedor de oro)*" and "*hombre adivinador de oro.*" The name is derived from *Nele olokana (kanalele)* = gold curer. Cuna *olo* = gold, according to most authorities, from Spanish *oro*. Possibly the word is native and identical with *olo* '(round) lump' (*e. g.*, of gold). For the word *kanalele* see Holmer and Wassén, 1947, p. 66. Girard, 1948, p. 89, has pointed out that the seat was "*simbolo de autoridad en la cultura maya,*" as, no doubt, was the case also in many parts of, for instance, Colombia.

²) See p. 26.

³) Different mythological demons, of which Pérez himself has translated *Pooachu* with "*tigre de las nubes,*" which is to be understood as the 'misty or invisible jaguar'. For *Achusimutupalet* see p. 120.

animals they called for a girl not yet fully developed.¹⁾ The oldest men began to advise the girl, telling her that she had to go to the Sacred Mountain at the source of river Achip²⁾ and that at this place she would find a tree named *kuppu*.³⁾ The reader will notice in the illustration⁴⁾ the boy and *Achuchichaki*⁵⁾ to the east and the girl with *Achukarman* to the west. The boy is the one who is going to be *nele* Organ.⁶⁾

"The old man told the girl that she had to bathe in *písep*.⁷⁾ This the girl did and they gave her eight swaddling cloths. They told her that the cloths were given her in order that she should wrap what she found in the tree therein. They took the girl to the foot of the tree (*kuppu*), and when they arrived they noticed that the stars were sparkling on the tree and that they twinkled and seemed to fall which, however, did not really happen. They were afraid of the stars and stopped near the tree, whilst the girl went nearer and saw that a golden plate was falling down from the tree top to the ground. The girl further saw that there were gigantic animals among the branches. To the east was *Achuchichaki* and to the west *Achukarman*. One of the branches of the *Kuppu*-tree was bending to the east and there was the little boy, Organ. Another branch bent to the west and there was the little girl. The girl whom the old men sent took both of the children, who were on polished golden plates. Not until the girl had taken the two children did the mist disappear the following day. Then the old men told the girl to take good care of the newly arrived little ones and that she should bathe them in *písep*. This she did, bathing them each day. As time went by the children grew and gained in weight.

"After some years the children could speak well. The boy said that they should bring him the *na* (a gourd rattle), but it was not a rattle such as we use nowadays but a *na* of the type that the diviners used.⁸⁾ The boy sent eight⁹⁾ men to another place to get him a

¹⁾ Cuna *punL-L* (girl) *na* *tsakshini* (breast begun to change, a girl whose breasts begin to change).

²⁾ MS. "al cerro sagrado (estaba en la entrada del río Achip)."

³⁾ = *Kuppuwala*, the Panama tree, *Sterculia apetala* (Jacq.).

⁴⁾ The illustration which Pérez refers to not included in the MS.

⁵⁾ A black jaguar. Cf. Holmer and Wassén, 1947, p. 26, footnote 193.

⁶⁾ This sudden presentation of *nele* Organ seems not quite clear.

⁷⁾ A plant used for magical baths. See CES 10, p. 612, sqq.

⁸⁾ *i. e.* with handle of deer bone.

⁹⁾ Magical number of the Cuna.

good rattle. The eight men went to search, and were away for twelve days. On the twelfth day they returned, bringing the *na* and the *ipekwa¹* to make it sound. They began to fabricate the gourd rattle [by attaching the handle to it] by means of eight rows of plaited threads through eight small holes.

"While doing this they also searched for the *sianal(a)* (brazier) and the *sianelekwa* (cacao).² Afterwards, Organ told those present to sweep the place well where he had come down. They swept very well and left the place hedged in with one gate toward the east and another toward the west, and six³) more gates. In all they placed eight gateways to defend themselves better against their enemies. In the middle of this place they made an enclosure, *sumpa* or *surpa*.⁴) Here Organ sang in order to get the rattle to rise into the air, which it did when he began singing.⁵) Next day all things were changed into gold. The tables were of gold, the plates and the sides of the sacred rock,⁶) all gold. For this reason they gave this man the name Nel-Organ.⁷)

"Nele Organ preached to his people by the river Kapeti (Achip) about the creation of the earth by a supreme man, the maker of divine things. He spoke about the natural mother, the earth.

"Said Organ: 'In the beginning the earth was our first mother, but because she didn't obey the divine words, God punished her and made her into earth. From her were transformed the lakes, the lagoons, the swamps and the muds. Mother Nature had in the beginning a proper name: God called her Mu-Olokwertili (MS. Olocuerdili). But after the punishment God changed her name to Ipekwatiryapilli (MS. Ibecuadiriyabil-li). God had placed a table of gold above Ipekwatiryapilli and on this table was the figure of the evil spirit, that is, the chief of the evil spirits named Uenyo, and the figure of a good spirit. On the side of the table there was a ladder of gold, *Ipetupyana¹*pilli.

"Down this ladder Organ began to descend toward the eighth

¹) Seeds.

²) MS. *sianelegua*.

³) MS. erroneously *cinco*.

⁴) House or special room. *Posumpa*, 'misty house' a common mythological word.

⁵) Cf. Wassén, 1938, p. 72, sqq.

⁶) Probably the same as the "sacred mountain" mentioned earlier.

⁷) Cf. page 126, footnote 1.

layer of the earth. He told the people that he wanted to see the eight layers, one by one, and he went down to:

- 1) The first layer, *Ipekwaliryapilli*. Here the herons lived in their beautiful villages;
- 2) The second layer, *Ipeutaryapilli*. Here the great river Oloupi-kuntiwal¹⁾ crosses. The chief of *nusa*²⁾ lived here, and also the fishes which, when they jumped out of the river made it grow larger. From here Organ saw the sea but no one had a boat so he had to get a *piragua*. From here he continued to
- 3) the third layer which he gave the name of *Ipekunapilli*. In this layer the chief of the whales lived. The streets were in the form of wide avenues. The town had big stores for selling fruit. The river Nalupkuntiwal crossed here.
- 4) The great man of the gold continued downwards to the fourth layer, which he called *Ipenakikunapilli* (MS. *Ibenaguicunapil-li*). All the inhabitants were of stone. They played and exercised with stones. When they lifted the stones the latter sounded like thunder. The river Wakkupkuntiwal³⁾ flows here.
- 5) The fifth layer was *Ikwakunapilli*.⁴⁾ Here was the chief of the *puni* (evil spirits) and the inhabitants exercised with arrows. Here runs the river Puk(k)wakuntiwal.
- 6) Then he went to the next layer (the name of which the narrator did not remember).⁵⁾ The river Warikuntiwal ('yam,' *ñame*) crosses here. The winds lived in this layer and they changed in a moment a man or person into wind (?).⁶⁾
- 7) He continued to the next layer and here Organ saw people of gold. They were making exercises with pikes heated in fires. They threw them at each other and sparks flew and they extinguished the hot pikes with their hands. Here lived a king of gold. The streets were of pure gold. The walls were of gold, or copper, they were made of carpets (or) tapestry (?).⁷⁾ in this country. Here

¹⁾ The river of gold dust. *Upi* = dust.

²⁾ Pérez explains "*pedra encantada*." *Nusa* (*akhticanusa*), enchanted stone.

³⁾ This is the name of Rio Leon at Turbo among the Cuna at R. Caimán Nuevo, Colombia.

⁴⁾ *Ikuwa*, the name of a tree.

⁵⁾ This remark makes it clear that Pérez got the story from another person.

⁶⁾ Not clear. MS. "*Ahi habitaban los vientos, se transformaban o se cambiaban en un momento, hombre o persona en viento.*"

⁷⁾ Not clear. MS., "*las murallas hacían de tapices (tapices?) en esta tierra.*"

was Muolosaktili (gold-net woman?) with *olosakti* (gold net?). Olosaktili was cleaning the golden walls and those of copper, every day. There was also a golden table and at the foot of this table came the gold wire from heaven to the city of Olosakti and through this wire words were passed about what happened on earth and in heaven. From here Organ could see the various islands, such as Kapitup (Coffee island?), Waritup (*Name* island?), Puk(k)watup (?) and Naluptup.¹⁾ The creator descended to the island of Kapitup. Here his visit ended, and he returned to the first layer. Then Organ began to tell about what he had seen.

"Days, months and years went by, during which Organ preached to his people. Then he got a child. This boy was born like one of us, that is, he was not a *nele*. He was only a boy when he heard the singing of a *puttu* (partridge) and told his father that he wanted to go hunting the *puttu* for food. His father sent him away to hunt and when he was in the woods he heard the sounds of the partridge and began to imitate them. While doing this he heard a whistling in the bush. Hearing this he ran home at once telling his father about it. His father said he was going to tell him next morning about what he had heard, and he then said that the whistling had come from the wife of the evil spirit.²⁾ Because this woman tried to deceive you I have to send her to the eighth layer.

"For this task Organ entered the room (*i. e.*, the *surpa*) to sing. He sang for eight days, but stopped then because the evil spirit said that he could not possibly be sent to the eighth layer. Only those born on this earth and who ate the earth together with him³⁾ could send him to the eighth layer. When Organ learned that he could not send away or get rid of the devil, he wished that his son would become (a *nele*) like himself. For this he made his son enter the enclosure and then looked for an *apsoketi* (curer) to sing for his son. After eight days of singing an old man came to the boy, who was sitting on a stone of gold facing the sun. When the old man came he brought with him a kind of pike and drove this into the boy's head. The boy hardly noticed this before he fell to the ground. When he was well again there came another spirit who asked the boy why he had called him. The boy answered that it was because he wanted

¹⁾ Island of the *nalup*-palm, *Pixibae* (*Gulielma utilis*?).

²⁾ MS., "*mujer del diablo*."

³⁾ MS. "*Solo los que nacieron sobre esta tierra y comieron la tierra junto con él; . .*"

him to drink *chicha*. While doing this the spirit began to sing about the medicines of the eighth layer. Then Ukuturpa (a fruit?) came and he sang the same as the other. Now the boy left the enclosure and when his father saw him he said, 'As far as I can see you are like me. I name you Ikwasaliplel.' And his father examined him to see if he was a real *nele*. Ikwasaliplel accepted the words of his father."¹)

Comments.

There can be no doubt that when Rubén Pérez Kantule took down the story of Organ, from a narrator unknown to me, he obtained a highly interesting myth. We can easily recognize the same main traits in one of the myths collected among the Cuna in Darien by the Dominican friar Adrian de Santo Thomas, who went to Darien in 1637, after a long stay among the Guaymi Indians. His account is printed in the *Relacion* by Requejo Salcedo, written in 1640, in which is included surprisingly detailed information on the topic of original beliefs among the Guaymi and Cuna. Both for the sake of comparison and the fact that many anthropologists, are probably in want of easy access to this *Relación*, I consider it justified to quote the entire Spanish text. Even the beginning of this text has, to a certain degree, its counterpart in the manuscript of Pérez Kantule, if we compare his glorification of the first Cuna on the Tuile river and the introductory words of the friar: "they say their origin to be the most noble of all nations."

In the rendering of the Spanish text those sentences which are of immediate interest for the version given above have been italicized.

Requejo Salcedo, p. 129-130:

"Su origen dicen ser el mas noble de todas las naciones, y que un mohan, siendo muy querido del sol por sus buenas obras, les dixo hauerle prometido un hijo para cacique y solo esperaua el consentimiento dellos, y haviéndolo acetado les ordeno ayunassen tres dias y suplicassen al sol les cumpliese lo prometido; *en estos exercicios vieron un niño blanco, rubio y hermoso, de dos años, que vajua del cielo, y á su lado una niña mayor, tañendo y cantando con un mardet instrumento de que se vssa para acallar los niños; los que se allaron pressentes, dando al sol las gracias y enon los niños en esos palacios con el mayor regalo que pudieron, y al labarles los cuerpos como lo acomstum-*

¹) The end of the story is not quite clear in the Spanish rendering. It seems as if Pérez did not obtain the continuation.

brauan cada día dos veces, les salian vnos como granos y cañutillos de oro, y lo mesmo al peynarles; por muchos años los niños se sustentaron con el olfato de los manjares que les ponian, dexándolos sin jugo, y el vientre lo purgauan por el ombligo; siendo grandes los cassaron, mas ofreciéndosele ocasiones al niño se cassó con otras muchas mugeres, y á la hermana con un yndio natural desta prouincia; por esto el sol, enojado, le quito el priuilegio de sustentarsse con el olfato y le hizo igual con los demas en el comer y purgar el vientre por la via ordinaria, lo qual lloran por no hauer guardado este cazique, de quien ellos descien den, el orden que deuia, que gozaran del preuilegio de sustentarse por el olfato y purgar por el ombligo; á quien tienen por tradicion hauer muerto los Cuevas, gente su enemiga, que an consumido con guerras y han hecho retirar sobre las cordilleras de Chepo, que estan cerca de Panamá.

"Ay en esta prouincia mucha gente blanca y rubia como flamencos, y atribúyese esto á ser descendientes del primero cazique que bajó del cielo, y destos nunca nacen otros semejantes, sino pardos."

The traits clearly common to both versions are:

Men gather together and see a boy and a girl coming down from heaven;

Use of the *maraca* by one of the newcomers;

The children are well taken care of, in "*palacios*" according to the friar, and according to Pérez Kantule, the men build a place well fortified with eight gates;

The children are bathed or washed each day. By this treatment (bathing in plant medicines is a principal trait among the Cuna), according to the friar, grains or quills of gold appeared on the children, while according to Pérez Kantule, *nele* Organ changed everything to gold by singing.

The children marry when grown up. In Pérez' record there is no special mention of the girl after her arrival in company with the boy. In Adrian de Santo Thomas' version, the girl marries an ordinary Indian. This makes the sun angry, who had originally lowered the children down from the heavens, so that they lose the privilege of nourishing themselves by only smelling the food¹⁾ and of purging their stomachs through the navel. Thus, if we equate the sun in 17th century myths with the golden plate of the modern Cuna version, the two myths are very likely historically related or identical. It can be noted in this connection that there is still to be found in the

¹⁾ The Chocó believe the first men, made of wood, to eat in this same way and being unable to defecate. See Wassén, 1933, p. 110. According to Severino de Santa Teresa, 1924, p. 57, the Catio Indians said about the inhabitants of another planet that "*se alimentaban de vapor de chontaduro y estaban libres de necesidades naturales.*"

modern version the celestial trait of stars sparkling and twinkling on the place where the supernatural events occur. It may even be that in the very original Cuna myth it was the sun itself which was lowered down to the earth accompanied by a girl (twin sister, etc.), the moon.¹⁾ The same Adrian de Santo Thomas provides in his records from the Guaymí Indians the story about Noncomala, who created heaven and earth, and who, when the earth was enshrouded in mists and its inhabitants were disconsolate, went out for a walk along the river Guaymí. There he found a beautiful woman named Rutve, and with her two children, a boy and a girl. They were brought up by the mother until they were twelve years old. The mother then went away for a feast and the father used this opportunity to take them up to heaven, where he placed the boy as the shining sun and the girl as the moon.²⁾

It may be noted here that Restrepo Tirado in his "*Costumbres de los Indios Darienitas*" has published a creation myth from the Cuna of Paya and Tapalisa according to which a child is lowered down from the heavens in a cradle of gold:

"Su origen, según me lo refieron los más ancianos, es el siguiente: á orillas del Tatarcuna, no lejos de Paya, vivian un hombre y dos mujeres, india una de ellas, negra la otra. Cuando el sol estaba en la mitad de su carrera, la solitaria trinidad se sentaba á almorzar. La negra no se bañaba nunca; la india lo hacia todos los días antes de ir a tomar su alimento. Un día se demoró más de lo acostumbrado y á las doce vio bajar del cielo un niño en una cuna de oro, lo recibió en sus brazos y lo llevó á su casa. Ocho días seguidos en un mismo sitio y á una misma hora recibió la india otros tantos niños. La negra, llena de envidia, se fue á la orilla del río al noveno día, y mientras su compañera se bañaba vio bajar otra canasta de oro; se apresuró á recibirla, pero canasta y niño subieron al cielo. Ella volvía á su casa despavorida y al pasar junto á un árbol salió un tigre que la devoró. Desde entonces no vinieron más niños. De los que habían bajado cuatro eran hombres y los demás mujeres. Estos fueron los progenitores de los actuales payas y tapalistas."

Besides, this mythical event took place at *Tatarcuna*, the form given by Restrepo Tirado for *Takarkuna*.

¹⁾ Cf. Oviedo, t. III, lib. XXIX, cap. V, p. 20: "Y es verdad que aquellos indios de la lengua de Cueva, en la qual es el Darien, tienen questa Dios en el cielo, é que el que cria é hace todas las cosas, pero piensan ellos questo Dios es el sol, é que su muger la luna, é así lo dicen é creen, é quistos les dan los mantenimientos, á la vida é se la quitan."

²⁾ Requejo Salcedo, 1908 (1640), p. 87-88.

³⁾ Restrepo Tirado, 1888, p. 115-119.

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SOME ARCHAEOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS FROM BOQUETE

CHIRIQUI, PANAMA

BY

HENRY WASSÉN



WITH 37 FIGURES

GÖTEBORG

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INTRODUCTION

During the expedition to Panama and Colombia in 1947 on behalf of the Gothenburg Ethnographical Museum (see Wassén 1949) I had thanks to the generous invitation from my friends, Mr. and Mrs. Hans Elliot of Panama, the opportunity of carrying out on a small scale and with due permission an archaeological investigation in Boquete, Chiriquí, mainly on soil belonging to the Elliots' beautiful recreation resort there.¹⁾

Accompanied by my wife, I arrived at Pedregal, the port of entry of the city of David, on April 15, and immediately after passing through the city we were welcomed to Boquete by Mr. Alberto Ordoñez, one of the Elliot Line's very helpful local agents.

Boquete, which is beautifully situated on the Río Caldera, about 1,100 meters above sea level, to the southeast of the Volcán de Chiriquí, is one of those Chiriquian places which have already been enumerated by De Zeltner and characterized by him as exploited by the hunters of guacas (De Zeltner, 1866, p. 4). Lothrop, 1919, p. 28, says that the cemeteries of Boquete (with those of Bugaba and Bugabita) were opened in the year 1859. The locality has proved to be very rich in pottery and stonework, but for this region as well as most others in Chiriquí Linné's statement that "of the enormous archaeological material only a quite insignificant proportion has been won by systematic excavations" is applicable (Linné, 1936, p. 96. Cf. Osgood, 1935, p. 243, Conclusion). Since any excavation carried out methodically, even in a modest way, may be of interest, I have resolved to publish my observations, even though I should like to make it quite plain that I do not have a very thorough or specialized experience of Chiriquian archaeological problems.

During the work in Chiriquí the main operations were centered in a brushwood northwest of the Elliots' "Tres Chivos," west of the

¹⁾ I am very much indebted to the Director of the Gothenburg Ethnographical Museum, Dr. K. G. Izikowitz, for facilitating the publishing of this paper by accepting it in the Museum's *Etnologiska Studier*, H. W.



Fig. 1. View of the Valley of Boquete from Alto Lino.

Río Caldera. This terrain has undoubtedly been searched repeatedly by guaca hunters, whereof the many unfilled or partly filled holes, unearthed covering stones, and pottery fragments bear witness. As a matter of fact, there exists in the Gothenburg Ethnographical Museum a collection from Boquete, of which the specimens catalogued as Nos. 38.5.22-62 have been found in graves in the same locality, and thus may be used for comparisons. As however no record exists of these excavations, nothing can be said as to which or how many specimens were found in the same grave. We know, however, that the excavation was undertaken in January 1937 and that three graves were opened. According to a letter in the Gothenburg Ethnographical Museum, "the graves were from 1 to 1.5 meters below the actual surface." They were typical examples of what I in the following have called *tapa* construction. The dislocations were considerable "so that of the original form of the grave(s) very little was left." A vessel of the rare type with flat bottom and loop handles (38.5.33, fig. 29 *a*, cf. MacCurdy, 1911, pl. XVI *b*) was found intact, but when cleaning it from fine roots, which had grown into the vessel, one of the loop handles was broken. The vessel has been restored in the museum.

Other specimens worth mentioning are 38.5.35, a vessel in animal form (probably a deer) on three legs (resembling the type given by Holmes, 1888, fig. 106), a series of small cups (fig. 35) with handle



Fig. 2. El Volcán de Chiriquí seen from Boquete.

decoration (38.5.36-39, cf. MacCurdy, 1911, p. 79),¹⁾ the bottom of a tripod vessel with loop feet (38.5.40, cf. MacCurdy, 1911, pl. XXV c²) and some stone celts (38.5.46, 47 and 49). Five arrow points (38.5.53-57), according to the excavators found together in one of the three graves, are shown here in fig. 36. Nos. 53 and 54 consist of flint. The material in No. 55 is sandstone which has been strongly pressed and mixed with lime. No. 56 is a slate and finally No. 57 consists of andesite.³⁾ The handle (38.5.41, fig. 37) deserves special attention as it, as far as I know, must be of a rare type in American archaeology.⁴⁾

¹⁾ We may perhaps assume that these small cups were used ceremonially more or less in the same way as the Cuna Indians of Panama and Colombia still use small calabash cups with handle sticks for ceremonial chicha drinking.

²⁾ This may be a Veraguas trait. According to Lothrop, 1948, p. 160, the potters of Chiriquí "sometimes copied Veraguas types in the local clay." He also points out that Veraguas tripod legs "are not uncommon, but, unlike those found in the other areas, they usually consist of looped ribbons of clay."

³⁾ For these as well as some other petrographic determinations of material mentioned in this paper I am grateful to the geologist, Mr. A. Wiberg of Gothenburg.

⁴⁾ In the Gothenburg Ethnographical Museum there is a modern Aymara cooking pot bought at a market in La Paz, Bolivia, by Dr. S. Rydén. This vessel (41.11.135) has four handles of which two are of the general type described here. On a fragment of a modern Aymara pot (41.11.134) from Wancani, La Paz, Bolivia, there are two twisted handles which at their upper parts are attached to the rim.



Fig. 3. Rapids in R. Caldera at Boquete.

In Holmes, 1881, fig. 51, "arrangement of handles — various groups of ware," this type of horizontally placed handle attached to the rim is not represented. On the other hand the horizontal handles decorated with armadillo motives in MacCurdy, 1911, pl. XVIII *a*, *b*, seem to be attached to the rim, and if so, the handle in fig. 37 may in principle very well be placed as another variation of true Chiriquian handle forms. The unique handles in Holmes, 1888, fig. 130, with the arch of each horizontal loop divided by an upright piece, is another element of interest in this connection, and so is the handle from the Pearl Islands shown by Linné, 1929, fig. 21 E.

I also utilize for the sake of comparison a collection catalogued as 47.36.1-13, given to me by Mr. and Mrs. T. B. Mönniche,¹⁾ owners of the coffee *finca* "La Lerida," situated 5,300 feet above sea level on the slopes of El Volcán at a distance of about 7 kilometers in a direction of about 64° west of north from Boquete R. R. station.

¹⁾ The writer gratefully acknowledges this kindness of the Mönniches, as well as their liberal hospitality during the visits at "La Lerida".

The graves located and opened by the Mömmiches on their estate over a period of many years were said to be exactly of the same type as those excavated by me and the specimens found may thus be assigned to an identical or closely related culture. The same applies to the fragments which I found while doing some tentative excavating work at *finca* "Suarez" (La Union), in the immediate neighborhood of "La Lerida," but situated about 200 feet farther down in the direction toward the village of Boquete. The few fragments found at *finca* "Suarez" are here referred to as 47.48.120-130. Certain stray finds from the locality of "Tres Chivos" or its immediate vicinity are also referred to in this text.

The collection catalogued as 47.48.1-115 refers to the finds which I brought home from three graves defined as "Grave I" (Nos. 1-32), "Grave II" (Nos 33-114) and "Grave III" (No. 115).

GRAVE DESCRIPTIONS

Grave I

Close to a place where holes in the ground and some scattered covering stones (so-called *tapas*) clearly indicated a previous digging, which however seemed to have been interrupted before having been completed, we began tentative work. The earth was in a loose condition, frequently mixed with natural unworked stones of different size.

Of quite another type are the *tapas* or *pedras de tumba* used as covering stones in the graves. The *tapas* are either flat, of irregular shape, or rod-formed. The rod-like stones, of which a typical example, 74 cms. long, from grave I is shown standing in fig. 4, have probably been brought by the Indians from a place called Los Ladrillos in Boquete (see fig. 5), where a geological formation of fissile stones is at hand. One of the supporting stones from grave II (47.48.70), of a flatter type, is seen in fig. 18 C. From grave II, I also brought two small samples of *tapa* stone (47.48.113 and 114) to show the nature of it. The rock in the samples consists of andesite with hornblende inclusions. The volcanic origin of this grave material is thus clear,¹⁾ but it is not so easy to say from what place the Indians of Boquete may have brought these often very large covering stones as nothing like them seems to exist in the immediate vicinity. The American geologist and well-known authority on Panamanian geology, Mr. Robert Terry, whom I had the privilege of meeting in Ancon, C. Z., basing his opinion on observations of a fissile formation at a geological site near the station of Algarrobo on the railroad between David and Boquete, considered this locality a possible original site for the covering stones now found in the graves of Boquete.

1. Cf. Alba C., 1929, p. 28. "El gran Volcán de Chiriquí, el cerro más alto del país, que forma solo un grupo de cerros más i menos conformes y se arrima a la falda meridional de la Cordillera Central, es compuesto de varias rocas. Andesita de Hornblenda parece haber contribuido la mayor parte a su formación. Las diferentes gradas de El Potrero, Potrerillos y el Boquete, consisten en cenizas. Las que se han derramado de las grietas laterales en corrientes de aventalla, son lavas de olicoclasa."



Fig. 4. 74 cm. long supporting stone from Grave I.

As is shown in the photographs and drawings accompanying this paper, the *tapas* are generally laid in several layers so that they cover one another like fish scales. Owing to repeated dislocations caused by earthquakes, pressure of earth and uplifting by stems and roots of huge trees, it is generally very difficult to get an exact idea of the original manner of construction. This is — at least in Boquete — also the result of the different graves' being so close together that it sometimes cannot be determined with absolute certainty which

stones belong to the wall of one grave and which to that of another. By placing a new grave close to an old one, and most probably often using the slabs from a previous grave for a new one, the Indians themselves no doubt often disarranged the walls and coverings of the graves.¹⁾

A schematic plan of Grave I and a vertical section with the marked sites of three vessels are seen in fig. 6.

The excavation was undertaken in a south-to-north direction, beginning with a base line of 150 cms. the width of the excavation being successively increased to 190 cms. in a northeastern direction. As the holes from earlier excavations formed the natural limits to the north as well as to the south, the length of the excavation was limited to about 210 cms. The depth from the surface to the bottom, where no further finds could be traced, was 125 cms.

Even in the surface layer, stray finds were made of pottery fragments, among them 47.48. 1 (fig. 7.4). As no doubt broken pottery

¹⁾ Cf. the experiences made by Dr. S. K. Lothrop during his excavations at Sitio Conte on the Rio Grande de Coelé: "At times graves were reopened and the contents pushed aside to make room for more bodies. Frequently, in digging a grave, an older burial was encountered. This might be robbed for the benefit of the new burial or it might be cut through and the contents scattered, and so the deeper burial actually is the more recent" (Lothrop, 1948, p. 147).

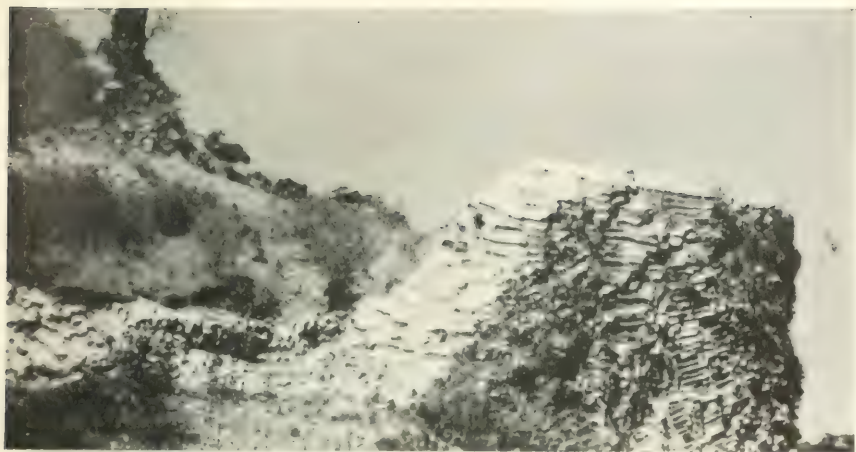


Fig. 5. Fissile formation at Los Ladrillos, Boquete. After a postcard.

from other excavations could have been dumped here and several fragments must have been brought unintentionally with the earth used for filling the grave, no special interest as to location can be ascribed to the stray finds of fragments, which besides were not very many. Those marked in the vertical section (fig. 6 *B*) are only given schematically.

The following is a list of the pottery fragments here classified as belonging to the finds in Grave I:

<i>Cat. No.</i>	<i>Figure</i>	
47.48.1.	7 <i>A</i>	Column and part of the seat of a so-called clay stool. Armadillo group. Cf. MacCurdy 1911, pl. XLVI <i>b</i> and Holmes 1888, fig. 231.
47.48.2.	7 <i>B</i>	Broken foot of a tripod vessel. Armadillo group. Yellow gritty slip.
47.48.6 a-b.	7 <i>C</i>	Upper part of a broken hollow foot of a tripod vessel. Reddish color. One clay pellet in the earth with which the fragment was filled. Armadillo group.
47.48.7.	7 <i>D</i>	Thick border fragment of a vessel of heavy construction. Coarse reddish ware. Found at a depth of 60 cms.
47.48.8.	7 <i>H</i>	Fragment. Ware as No. 7. May have been a part of the same vessel. Found at a depth of 75 cms., near the center of the grave.

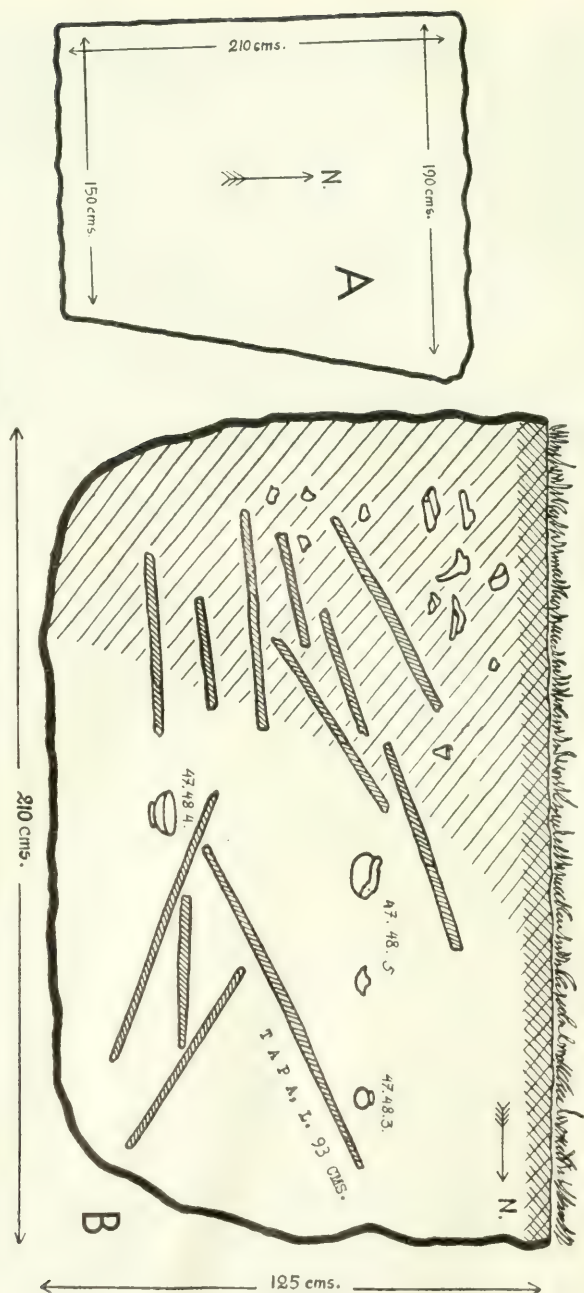


Fig. 6. A, Schematic plan, B, Vertical section of Grave I.

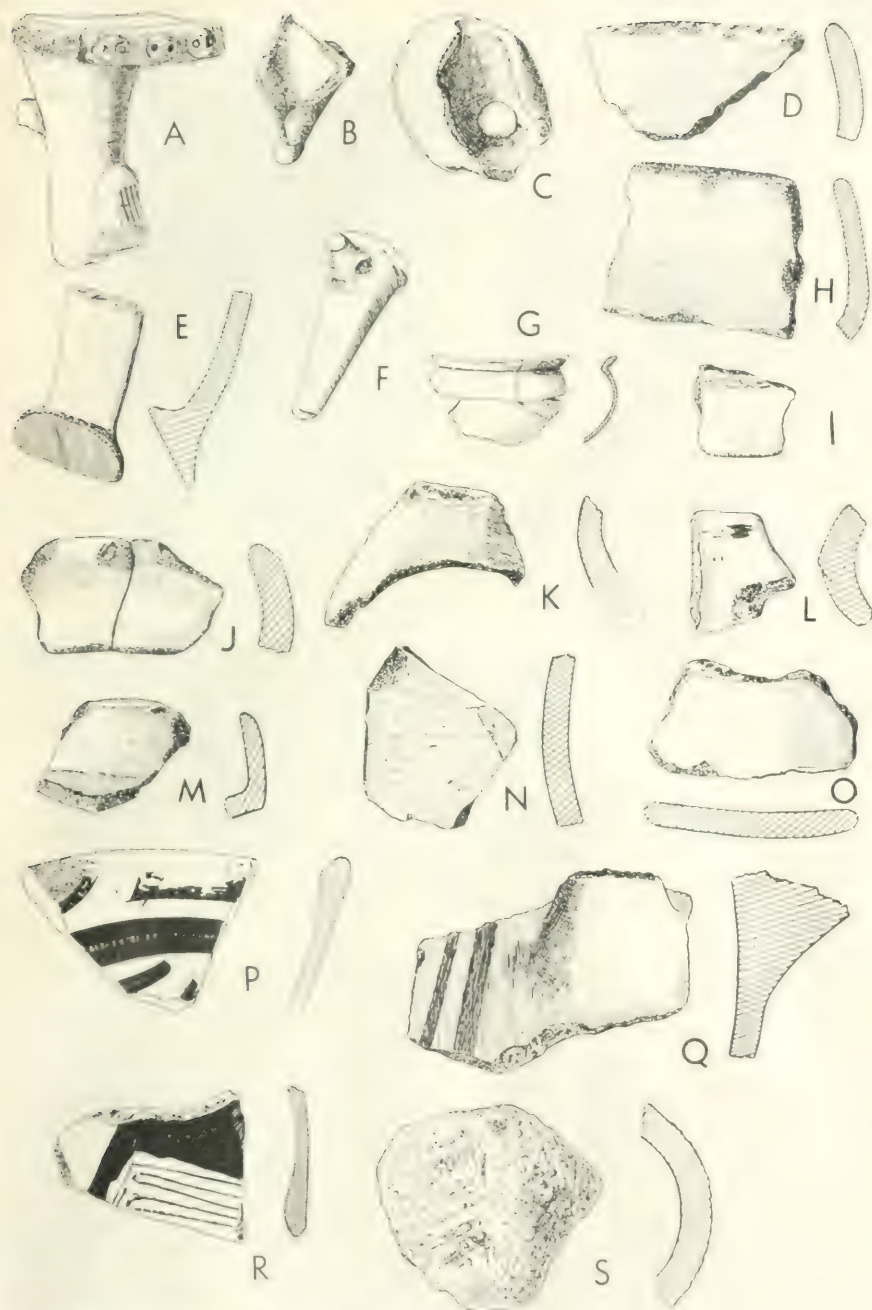


Fig. 7. Fragments from Grave I. For Cat. Nos. and description see p. 133 text.
D, G and H r. 6, all others l. 3, or ca. 1:3

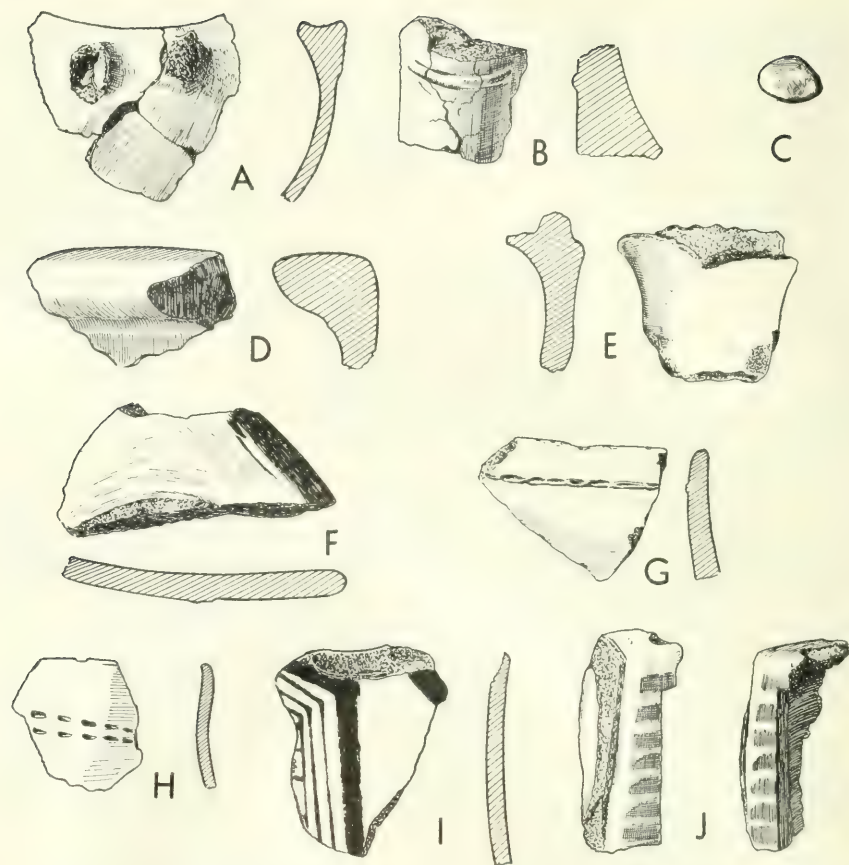


Fig. 8. Fragments from Grave I. For Cat. Nos. and description see p. 158. 1: 3.

Cat. No. Figure

- 47.48.9. 7 F Solid support of a tripod vessel. The upper part with a protruding nose. Eyes and mouth of the same technique as the eyes affixed to the upper parts of the legs in Holmes, 1888, fig. 141. Marks of red painting all round the support. On the upper flat surface of the support the ring formed fracture encircles a round spot of a highly polished solid coat of red paint which gives an idea of the one-time beautiful red decoration of the interior of the vessel.¹⁾

¹⁾ Cf. Holmes 1888, p. 56: "On the exposed surfaces of certain groups of ware the polish is in many cases so perfect that casual observers and inexperienced persons take it for a glaze." *Ibid.*, p. 57: "Red was profusely used and varies from a light vermilion to a deep maroon In some cases it was employed as a wash or slip and was worked down with the polishing stone, ..."

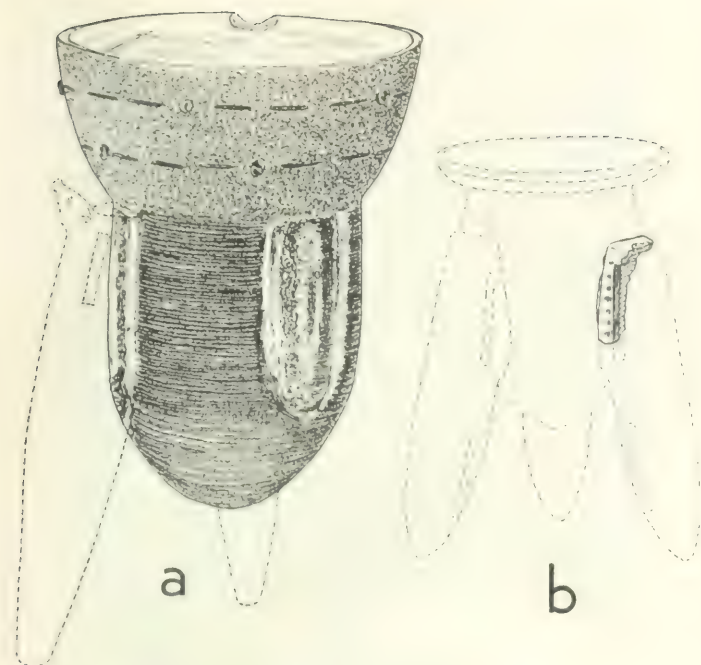


Fig. 9. *A*, Receptacle of a special type. La Llerida, Boquete. 47.36.7. 1:2. Cf. fig. 10. Text p. 158. *B*, Reconstruction of a tripod vessel to show original position of the fragment in fig. 8 *J*.

Cat. No. Figure

My friend, Dr. Hugo Andersson, head of the laboratory at Dorch, Bäcksin & Co, Göteborg, has been so kind as to analyze the layer of red color, which layer he found very porous. Its appearance makes one think of red ferrous oxide which can easily be obtained by bringing ferruginous clay to the glowing point (ocher). The reaction of the fragment of color when analyzed chemically also showed clearly the presence of iron. As it is known that cinnabar, or mercuric sulfide, was used very early for producing a red color, tests were also made with mercury, but with negative result. When the particles of color were brought to the glowing point they kept the red color, which eliminates the possibility of organic pigments. Thus it may be considered fairly certain that the color comes from ferrous oxide.¹⁾

- 47.48.10. 7 *E* Fragment of a handle.
 47.48.11. 8 *J* Fragment with decoration in red. Part of a support of a tripod vessel (see fig. 9 *B*).

¹⁾ Letter of June 1, 1940.

<i>Cat. No.</i>	<i>Figure</i>	
47.48.12.	7 <i>G</i>	Fragment of shoulder and rim of a small pot. Armadillo group.
47.48.13.	7 <i>I</i>	Small pottery fragment with punctured line decoration.
47.48.14.	7 <i>J</i>	Border fragment. Reddish slip.
47.48.15.	7 <i>K</i>	Pottery fragment, probably of a vessel's neck. Inside polished.
47.48.16.	7 <i>L</i>	Fragment, probably part of handle. Marks of red paint.
47.48.17.	7 <i>M</i>	Unpainted border fragment.
47.48.18.	7 <i>N</i>	Pottery fragment, 1 cm thick. Outer surface striated, inner surface smooth.
47.48.19.	7 <i>O</i>	Pottery fragment. Outside gray, inside yellowish gray.
47.48.20.	7 <i>P</i>	Border fragment of a dish, polychrome decoration. Inside (shown in figure): Dark brown and red on a yellow ground slip. Outside red.
47.48.21	7 <i>Q</i>	Fragment of pot. Marks of brown decoration on a yellowish slip. The protruding part may be the base of a handle. Thick coarse ware.
47.48.22.	7 <i>R</i>	Fragment with outer linear decoration in red.
47.48.23.	7 <i>S</i>	Fragment of a vessel of thick ware, of the same type as the fragmentary vessels 47.48.104 and 105 (fig. 23) found in Grave II. During the excavation in Boquete no complete vessel of this type was found but I received a complete body of a specimen of this kind from Mr. T. B. Mönniche's <i>finca</i> La Lerida (No. 47.36.7, fig. 9 <i>A</i>). It is a receptacle of a special type, so far as I am aware, without a parallel in the illustrations given by Holmes and MacCurdy. Unfortunately the supports are missing but a complete specimen in the Mönniche collection could be photographed (fig. 10). The latter vessel, which also had been found at La Lerida, has three long hollow supports with slits and rattling pellets and an animal figure on the upper part of each support, thus as an ordinary fish-tripod ware. The receptacle in fig. 9 <i>A</i> has the outer surface of the lower part heavily striated. The ornamentation of the outside of the upper part consists of punctate dots connected with two lines of incisions. The whole outer surface of the receptacle has fire marks and the upper part especially is clearly sooty.
47.48.24.	8 <i>A</i>	Border fragment of a pot of red paste with marks of handle or shoulder ornaments.
47.48.25.	8 <i>B</i>	Fragment, probably part of a solid foot. Painted red.
47.48.26.	8 <i>D</i>	Very thick border fragment. Inside decoration red, marks of paint on the outside.
47.48.27.	8 <i>C</i>	Heart-formed clay object, probably for rattling.
47.48.28.	8 <i>E</i>	Fragment, probably of a foot. Coating of red clay.



Fig. 10. Complete tripod vessel of the type shown in fig. 9 A. Coll. Mönniche, La Lerida, Boquete.

<i>Cat. No.</i>	<i>Figure</i>	
47.48.29	8 G	Border fragment of a pot. Encircling decoration of a punctured line.
47.48.30	8 F	Border fragment of a dish. Inner surface and border with red paint.
47.48.31	8 H	Fragment of a vessel with decoration consisting of two lines of incisions. Outside clearly sooty.
47.48.32	8 I	Fragment with a similar kind of decoration as No. 22 in this list. The ground color in No. 22 is however lighter.

Regarding the three vessels collected in the grave the following observations were made.

With its base at a depth of 50 cms. from the surface and in the northeast corner of the pit, a big *tapa* was leaning downward and

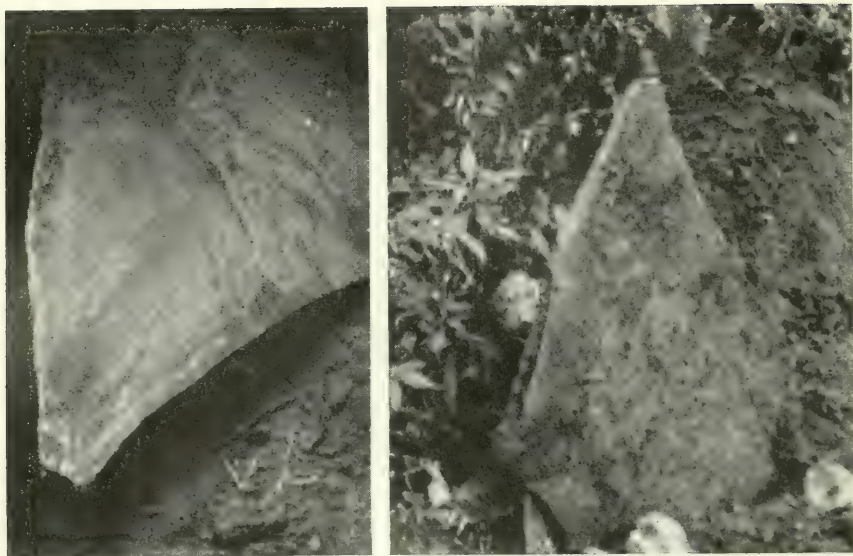


Fig. 11. *Tapa* stone, 63×93 cms. from Grave I.

towards the middle of it. When uncovering this *tapa* (see fig. 11), I found its dimensions to be: length 93 cms., the greatest width 63 cms. and the thickness between 4 and 6 cms. The form was that of an irregular hexagon. Near the base and on the upper side of the *tapa*, the little vase seen in fig. 12 *a* was found standing with its mouth up. The vase was broken and a few pieces were unfortunately missing. This little specimen, only 6 cms. high and with a diameter of 7 cms., has the lower part of the body and the inside of the neck painted in red, with which color the gray clay of the outer surface of the neck and the shoulder makes a contrast. The shoulder is ornamented with six punctate dots and a linear incised decoration between the dots.

On the same 50 cm. level, but in the middle of the pit, the undecorated grayish pot (47.48.5) with two handles (fig. 12 *b*) was found, broken, one of the fragments lying 30 cms. from the vessel. The latter, diameter 12 cms., is clearly fire-blackened and may have been an ordinary small-sized cooking pot.

Below the big *tapa* stone there were still three other covering stones of which the lowest covered the third pot found in this pit (47.48.4, fig. 12 *c*). This piece, a bowl, the side of which has had to be restored,

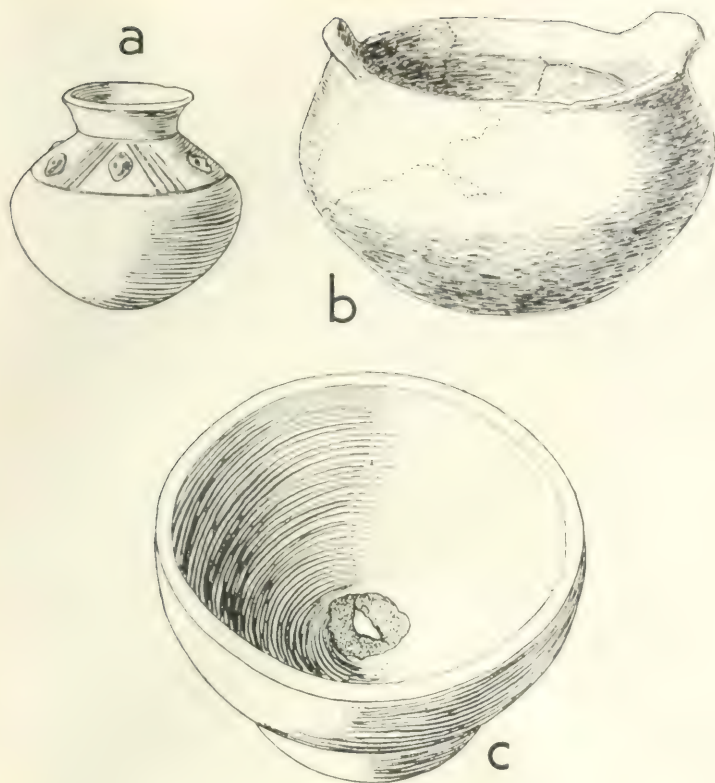


Fig. 12. Vessels from Grave I. *a*, 47.48.3, height 6 cms., diam. 7 cms.; *b*, 47.48.5, diam. 12 cms.; *c*, 47.48.4, killed bowl, diam. 13 cms.

has an annular stand and an old hole in the bottom indicates that the vessel was intentionally killed. As to this fact it is interesting to note that among the free sherds found in Grave II there is an annular stand of a pot (47.48.95, fig. 22 *c*), which also has been killed by a hole through the bottom. As pointed out by Osgood, 1935, p. 243, "several examples of killed pottery have been found." The fragment 47.48.53, fig. 16 *C*) is probably also of a vessel that has been killed.

The outside and the border of the bowl in fig. 12 *c* has a fine polished slip of light fired terra, whence the inside has a coating of light *caput mortuum*.

No other finds were made in this grave which my *peón* helper probably quite correctly classified as that of an *indio pobre*.

The finds in the pit of the three vessels raise the question as to whether they have been placed there contemporaneously, or, if we consider the bowl in the lowest level as a piece from one burial and the two other vessels as representations of a later interment. The first assumption is probably correct, even if the pots found above the big *tapa* had practically no stone covering. Might it be, as stated by Holmes, 1888, p. 21, that some pieces of pottery were added as the grave was filled up (cf. *ibid.*, p. 55)? No human remains were observed in the grave so nothing can in this case be stated with certainty as to whether it was originally intended for more than one individual.

Grave II

Only 10 meters southeast of Grave I there was another hole in the ground, evidence of previous digging. As free sherds were located in the northern wall of the hole, I decided to continue the excavation in a northerly direction on a base line of 120 cms. When clearing the ground from some trees growing there and taking away the roots we found at a depth of only 30 cms., right below the roots of one of the trees, a plain pot (47.48.33, fig. 16 *H*) partly broken and with some parts missing. It is difficult to form any opinion as to whether this plain but nicely shaped undecorated vessel of the Armadillo group has direct connection with the other finds from this grave or not, as it may very well have been placed here for some other reason.

A horizontal ground plan of the excavation at a depth of approximately 100 cms. is seen in fig. 13. Section *A*, south-to-north, was excavated first, its length being 200 cms. Near the southern end of the section, the top end of a big *tapa* appeared at a depth of 50 cms. This covering stone was leaning at a sharp angle towards the south, but I am inclined to consider this position a result of a quite considerable pressure of earth. Thus the stone may originally have been standing upright, forming a boundary to the south for the grave finds described in the following. Now the sharply leaning *tapa* (part of its base, after being broken off, is seen in the photo in fig. 14) was found to stick about 25 cms. in the ground if the measurement is made at the level of the finds Nos. 51-57 described in the following report (the level being at 100 cms., the figure slightly rounded).

The free sherds found in the earth in section *A*, above and surrounding the leaning *tapa*, have been catalogued as 47.48.34-40, a clay

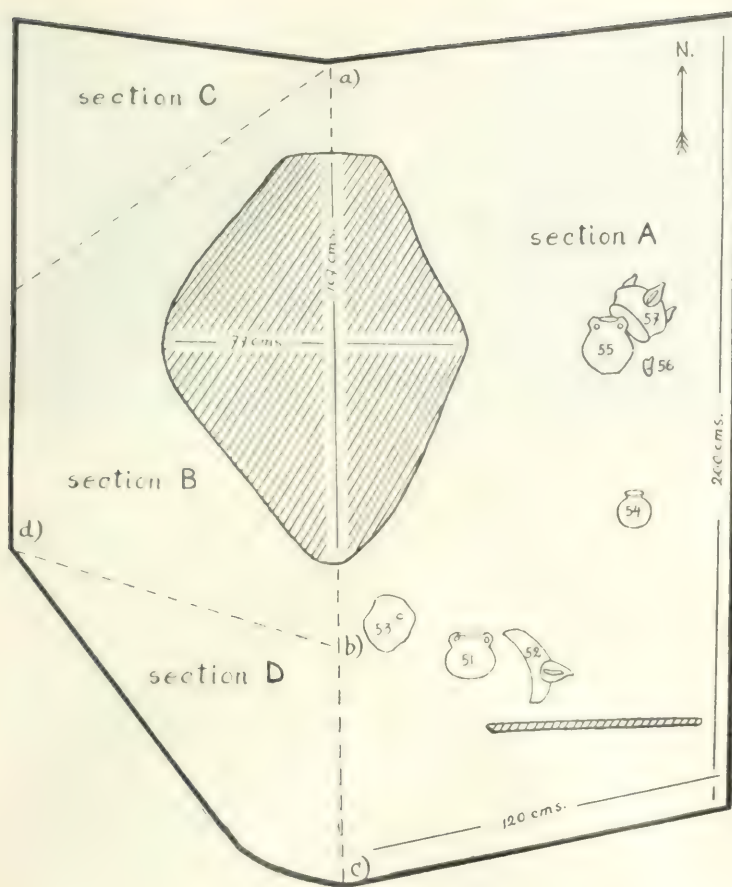


Fig. 13. Horizontal ground plan of Grave II at a depth of 100 cms. (the big *tapa*, hatched, on 90 cm. level).

pellet 41, and other fragments 42-50. To give a general view of the character of these fragments a short description will be given:

Cat. No. Figure

- | | | |
|-----------|------|--|
| 47.48.31. | 15 a | Fragment of shoulder part and rim of a small vase. Marks of painting in red on the outer surface. |
| 47.48.35. | 15 c | Animal head, solid, with two deep incisions. The head, which has a coating of red paint, is a part of a pot's decoration. The vessel may have been of a zoomorphic type (cf. MacCurdy, 1911, fig. 68). |

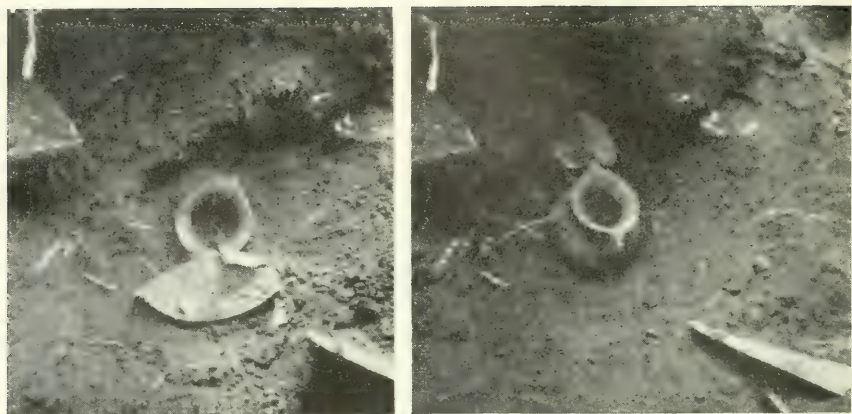


Fig. 14. Grave II. The vessels 47.48.51 and 52 *in situ*. In the lower right corner, the base of the leaning *tapa* near the southern end of section *A*.

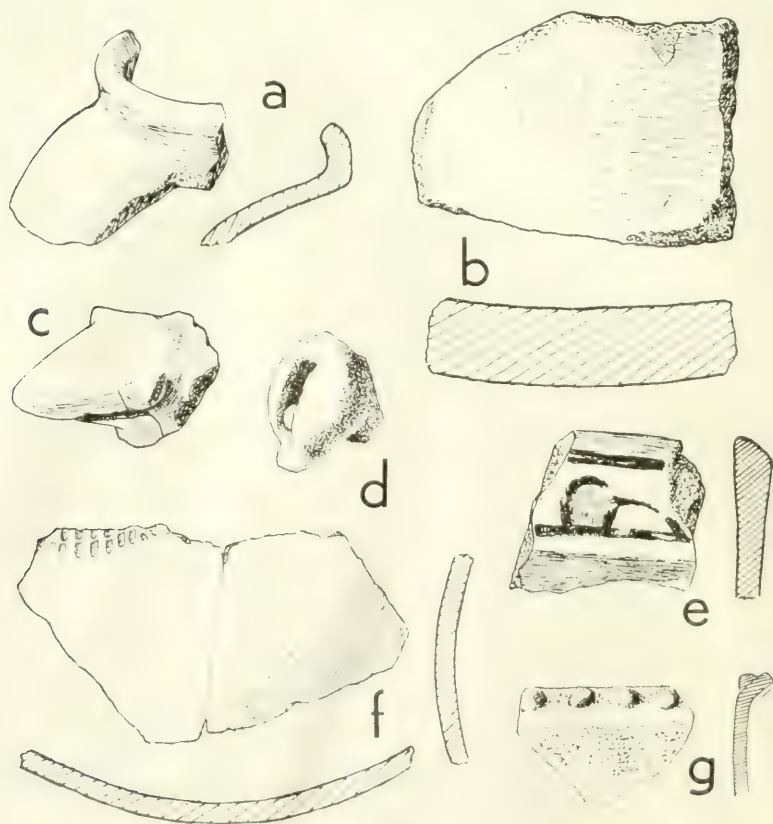


Fig. 15. Pottery sherds from Grave II, section *A*. *b* 1:3, all others 1:2.

<i>Cat. No.</i>	<i>Figure</i>	
47.48.36	15 <i>b</i>	Fragment of a slightly curved piece of pottery of a very coarse ware.
47.48.37	—	Very worn fragment with protruding part.
47.48.38	15 <i>c</i>	Fragment of vessel decorated in red. Marks of incised ornamentation.
47.48.39-40.	—	Plain fragments. No. 40 may have come from the same vessel as No. 38.
47.48.41	—	Clay pellet.
47.48.42	—	Fragment of a solid support of a little tripod vessel of the Armadillo group.
47.48.43	15 <i>d</i>	Hollow tripod support with rattling pellet.
47.48.44	15 <i>e</i>	Border fragment of Armadillo ware. Ornamentation consists of small appliqué buttons of clay.
47.48.45-46.	—	Two fragments of Armadillo-Terra Cotta ware.
47.48.47.	—	1.2 cm. thick fragment of a bowl. Interior painting in red.
47.48.48.	15 <i>f</i>	Border fragment of a painted bowl or dish. The colors are variations of brown on a grayish ground.
47.48.49.	—	Fragment of a handle. Marks of decoration in red.
47.48.50.	—	Plain pottery fragment, 1.2 cm. thick.

Finds on the 100 cm. level.

Immediately west of the base of the leaning *tapa* and with its opening facing south the intact vessel 47.48.51 (fig. 16 *A*) was found (see fig. 14). The vase with its flaring rim has handles of sitting human figures (caryatids, fig. 16 *a*). Bottom flat. Color yellowish-red with a simple decoration of irregular dark streaks on the lower part of the body. A similar pot with the same type of handle decoration with plastic features is the vessel 38.5.27.

One broken fragmentary tripod vessel of Armadillo ware (47.48.52 a-c, fig. 16 *B*) was found close to the vessel No. 51, and may have been used to cover its opening. West of this group the fragment (47.48.53) shown in fig. 16 *C* was found. It is the bottom of a pot of Armadillo ware with a hole in it, perhaps indicating even here an intentional killing of the original vessel (cf. p. 161).

Northeast of the group of pottery described here and at a distance of 55 cms. the vessel 47.48.54 (fig. 16 *D*) was found lying on its side. This vessel, 11 cms. high, without decoration, plain bottom, has a dark outer surface and may have been used as a simple cooking pot.

To the north of it another group of vessels came to light, namely No. 47.48.55 (fig. 16 *E*) standing with a tripod bowl (47.48.57, fig.

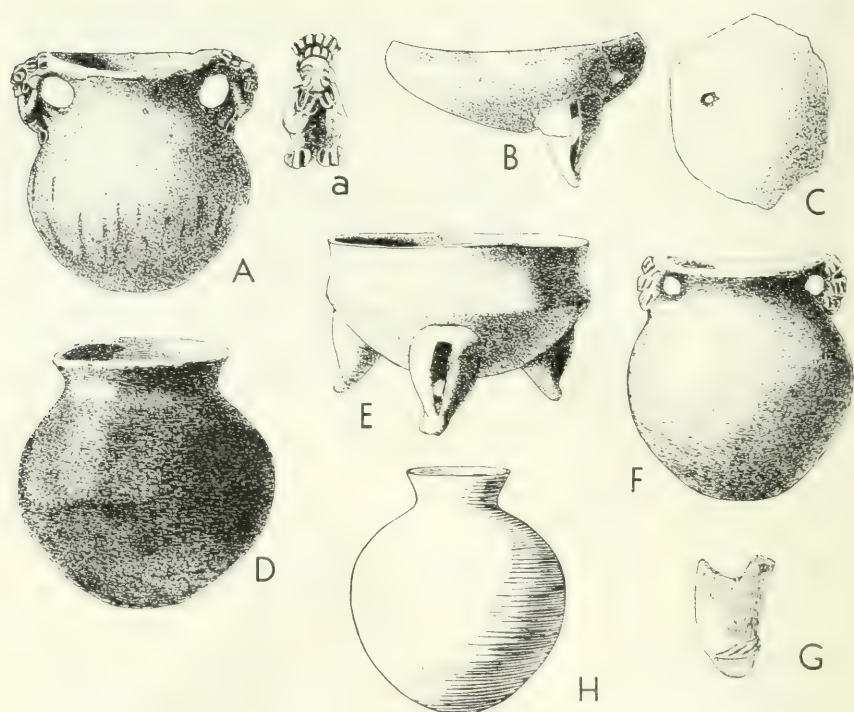


Fig. 16. Vessels and fragments from Grave II, Section A (Cf. fig. 13). A, 47.48.51, h. 15 cms., a, Detail of handle; B, 47.48.52 a, l. 22 cms.; C, 47.48.53, l. 15 cms.; D, 47.48.54, h. 11 cms.; E, 47.48.57, diam. 17.5 cms.; F, 47.48.55, h. 16.5 cms.; G, 47.48.56, l. 5 cms.; H, 47.48.33, h. 19.5 cms.

16 E) of Armadillo ware with rattling feet leaning against it.¹⁾ Close to this group was also a fragment of a support of a tripod vessel (47.48.56, fig. 16 G). The vessel No. 55, 16.5 cm. high, belongs to that type of which, according to MacCurdy, the handles are decorated with armadillo motives (cf. MacCurdy, 1911, pl. XIII a).

With the exception of the big leaning *tapa* described in the foregoing, only a few *tapas* were observed in the eastern part of section A and those found were apparently placed without any special system

¹⁾ The tripod vessel was in this case no doubt intended to cover the other pot as in the case reported by Alfaro, 1896, p. 16, from a grave in Costa Rica where he found "una ollita de barro tapada herméticamente con un plato tripode invertido, esto es, con las patas hacia arriba."

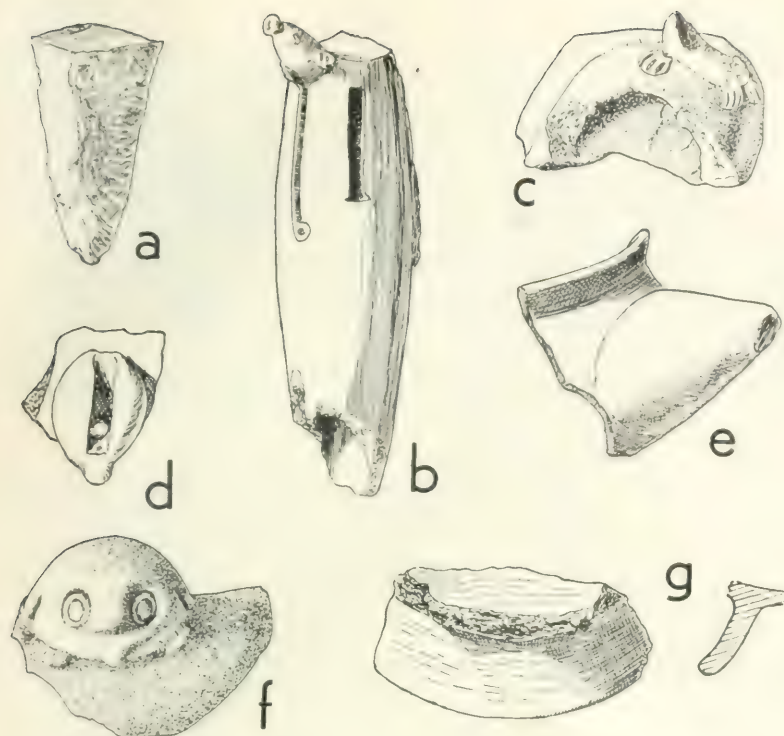


Fig. 17. Fragments from Grave II, section B. See p. 168. g. 1: 3, all others 1: 2 or ca. 1: 2.

or afterwards disarranged. To the west a quite different picture slowly emerged. This boundary wall between what I have called sections A and B (dotted line a) – b) in fig. 13) offered several layers of covering stones, and the same proved to be the case when digging through the section here called C.

If we now first consider the boundary between sections A and B, a considerable part of a horizontally placed *tapa* stone had already come into view on a 60 cm. level and, from what could be understood by testing, there was a kind of hole or shallow chamber below it. In order to lay bare this horizontal *tapa*, the section B had to be excavated. When doing this, besides uncovering stones placed scale-fashion we found several free sherds and some other fragments, according to the following list:

<i>Cat. No.</i>	<i>Figure</i>	
47.48.58.	17 a	Fragment of artifact of andesite. Wedge? Length 7.2 cms. Found 40 cms. below the surface.
47.48.59 a-c.	17 b	Support of a tripod. Hollow, with two rattling pellets in it and an animal head on the upper extremity. From the head a clay string goes as an ornament to the middle of the leg.
47.48.60 a-c.	—	Rattling support with two clay pellets. No ornamentation visible on the fragment.
47.48.61.	17 d	Little foot of the bulbous type with rattling pellet.
47.48.62.	17 c	Fragment of vessel with upper part of a support with animal decoration.
47.48.63.	17 g	Part of an annular base. The vessel has probably been of a thick-walled type.
47.48.64.	—	Fragment of handle. Armadillo ware.
47.48.65	—	Flat bottom of a pot.
47.48.66.	—	Fragmentary foot of the bulbous rattling type. Armadillo ware.
47.48.67.	17 e	Fragment of pot with rim and protruding hollow part. Armadillo ware.
47.48.68.	—	Fragment of little bowl of Armadillo ware.
47.48.69.	17 f	Hollow modelled adorno, facing outwards on a fragment of the Armadillo group (cf. Osgood, 1935, pl. 6 A).

The horizontal tapa and its arrangement.

After the horizontal covering stone could be moved one could see that it had rested on four stands of the same kind of stone, three towards the north and one broad support (61 cms.) to the south (see drawings in fig. 18). The stone itself was 77 cms. at its broadest part and 107 cms. long, the biggest one I saw in Boquete. One of the supporting stones (47.48.70) from the north side was added to the collection (fig. 18 C). All stone supports were placed deep in the earth to permit them to carry the considerable weight of the tapa and the covering stones above. With the exception of a few fragments of pottery and stone (Nos. 71-77), nothing was found in the space below the *tapa*. As far as I could make out, this space was limited to the distance between the supporting stones. The surface of the ground in this cache looked the same as in the part outside to the east, where the vessels lay. No human remains were found but we may perhaps assume that the bones of the dead were placed below

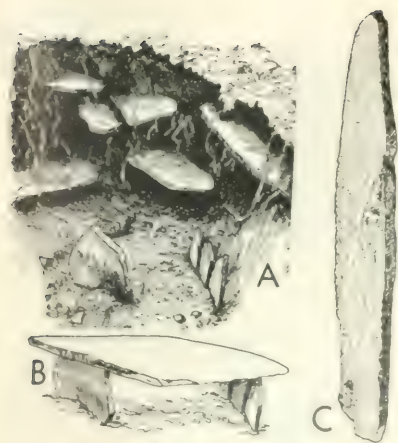


Fig. 18. Grave II. A-B, Arrangement of the big *tapa*. Drawings after photographs by the author. C, 47.48.70, l. 52 cms., one of the northern supporting stones. Cf. p. 168.

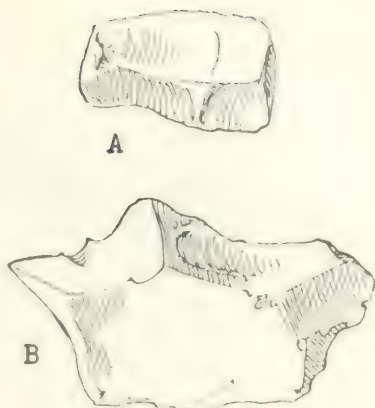


Fig. 19. Chips of red rock from Grave II (see p. 170). A, 47.48.77, l. 2.5 cms., B, 47.48.76, l. 4.9 cms.

the *tapa* with the pots filled with food, water, etc., outside.¹⁾ As the grave was found intact, no plundering had taken place. The finds made in the earth between the supporting stones and which may have come there with the earth used for filling the grave, are the following:

Cat. No. Figure

- | | | |
|-----------|---|--|
| 47.48.71 | — | Pottery fragment, length 5 cms. Red inside coating. |
| 47.48.72. | — | Border fragment of vessel with mark of a support or handle. Red paste coated on both sides with a dark-brown slip. |

¹⁾ Having seen deep-shaft Colombian graves (Wassén, 1936) with few or no traces of human bones, I really did not expect to find any human remains in these shallow graves. My *p. a.* helper considered such remains to be very rare. Holmes, 1888, p. 20, discusses "the almost total absence of human remains" in Chiriquian graves. Joyce, 1919, p. 116, who calls the original inhabitants of this archaeological region (south of the Cactar boundary) by the general name of Talamanca ("Chiriquí"), says that "the burial customs of the Guaymí, when they were first encountered by white men, seem to have been similar to those of the later Talamanca. The body was first deposited on a platform in the forest, and the bones were fetched a year later and deposited in a family tomb." Pinart, 1885, p. 451, trying to describe different types of Chiriquian graves emphasizes his use of the word *ossement*, because "non le corps, mais les os seulement étaient déposés dans les guacas." Lechrop, 1948, p. 161, says that the "skeletal remains usually have disintegrated, but the size of the graves suggests that they normally contained a single body, interred a meter or two below the ground level."

<i>Cat. No.</i>	<i>Figure</i>	
47.48.73.	—	Pottery fragment, decoration in red with black lines.
47.48.74.	—	Pottery fragment, decoration in red.
47.48.75	—	Fragment of very coarse pottery.
47.48.76-77.	19	Chips of red flint with crystals of lime-spar. Scrapers or broken points?

The excavation was next continued to the northwest (fig. 13, section C) and down below the "floor" of the grave space between the supporting stones for the big *tapa*. Besides *tapa* stones of different sizes, very dislocated and sometimes completely lifted up by tree roots, the earth in the wall of section C had several river stones in it. No intact vessels were found but some broken ones and fragments according to the following list:

<i>Cat. No.</i>	<i>Figure</i>	
47.48.78.	—	Fragment of neck and rim of a large vase.
47.48.79.	20 A	Tripod bowl with plain hollow rattling supports. Armadillo group. This bowl was found with the feet up (fig. 21), 30 cms. below the surface of the grounds. Close to it two fragmentary vessels (47.48.80 a-b), also of the Armadillo group, were found pressed together so as to form a conglomerate of sherds (fig. 20 C and B). It has been possible to restore the two latter vessels partly. As seen in fig. 20 C, the ornamentation on the support suggests a human form. The supports of the bowl No. 80 b (fig. 20 B) are of the plain bulbous type with one rattling pellet in each.
47.48.81.	—	Fragment of a bulbous foot. Armadillo ware.
47.48.82.	22 a	Modeled adorno of a bowl. Armadillo ware. On this fragment one pellet tooth is observed. The vessel in Holmes, 1888, fig. 109, with "a single head of extremely grotesque and repulsive character" has two pellet teeth, but probably originally three, as is the case in each of the heads which form the shoulder ornaments on a vessel (38.5.28, fig. 30 d) of the Armadillo group. Anna O. Shepard, 1948, fig. 25 and p. 41, has found pellet teeth as one of the characteristics of certain anthropomorphic effigies ('the old man') with applied heads among the Plumbate, a Mesoamerican trade ware of which, according to the same author (p. 112) a head-cover effigy now in the U. S. National Museum has even been found in the Chiriqui province.

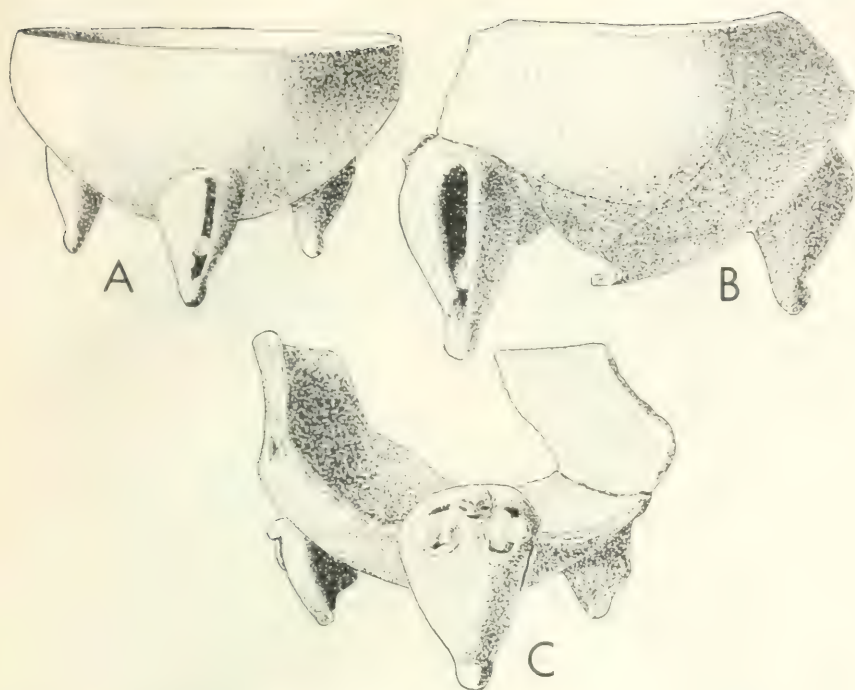


Fig. 20. Finds from Grave II, section C (cf. p. 170). A, 47.48.79, diam. 18.5 cms.; B, 47.48.80 b, l. of border 12 cms.; C, 47.48.80 a, diam. 14 cms. Cf. fig. 21.



Fig. 21. The vessels in fig. 20 *in situ*. See p. 170.

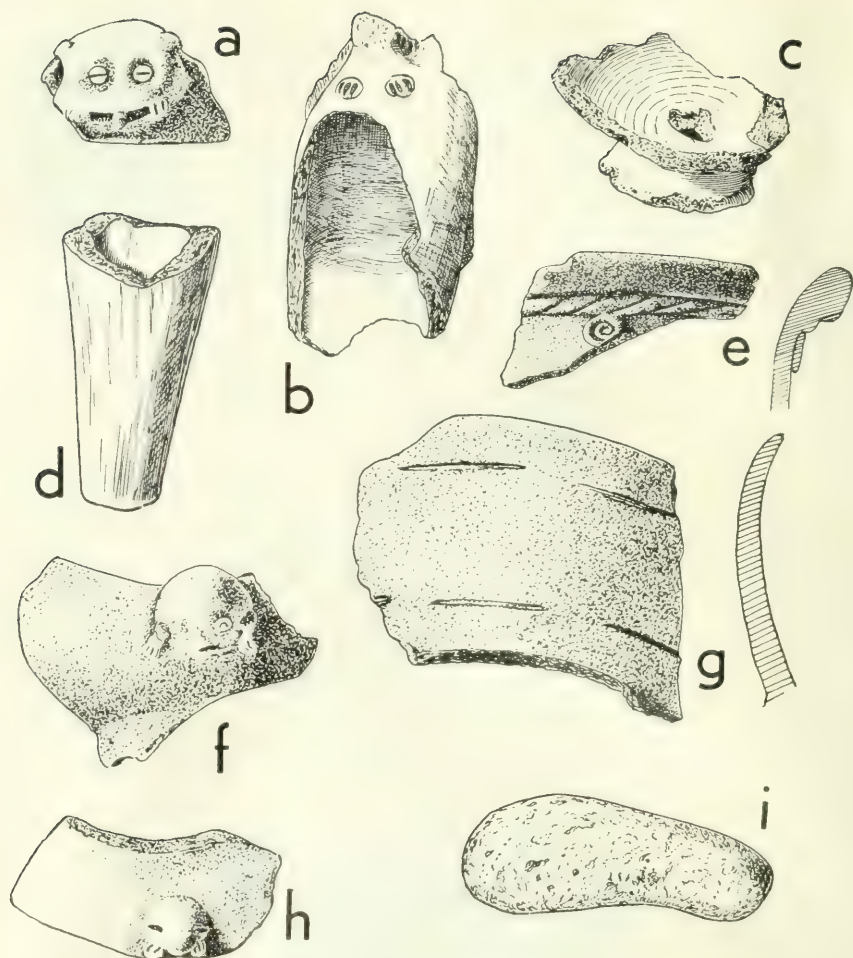


Fig. 22. Fragments from Grave II, section C. 1: 2.

<i>Cat. No.</i>	<i>Figure</i>	
47.48.83.	—	Fragment of very thick and coarse pottery.
47.48.84.	22 b	Probably the hollow part of a shoulder decoration in which the armadillo has been employed. Marks of red paint.
47.48.85	—	Fragmentary handle of very thick but highly polished unpainted ware.
47.48.86.	—	Thick border fragment of very coarse pottery.



Fig. 23. Fragments from Grave II, section C. *A*, 47.48.105, *B*, 47.48.104. Cf. text p. 158. 1:2.

<i>Cat. No.</i>	<i>Figure</i>	
47.48.87.	22 g	Fragment of vessel. Incised ornamentation. Fire marks.
47.48.88.	22 d	Fragment of plain support. The upper part is hollow, in the lower a core of clay is seen (cf. fig. 25 b).
47.48.89.	—	Hollow bulbous foot of a tripod vessel. Without rattling pellet. Armadillo ware.
47.48.90.	—	Vertical pottery handle of a flat plain type attached to the neck and shoulder part of a vessel.
47.48.91.	—	Red painted pottery fragment with base of a handle.
47.48.92.	—	Fragment of bulbous foot. Armadillo ware.
47.48.93.	—	Small painted pottery fragment.
47.48.94.	—	Lower part of a support of the same kind as No 88.
47.48.95.	22 e	Annular base of a vessel, which, judging from the hole, must have been killed (cf. p. 161).
47.48.96.	—	Fragment of the upper part of a bulbous support of a tripod vessel.

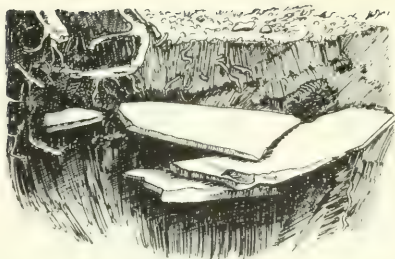


Fig. 24. Covering stones in the wall of Grave II, section *D*. Drawing after photograph taken by the author.

Cat. No. Figure

- | | | |
|----------------|-------------|--|
| 47.48.97. | 22 <i>i</i> | Stone of a peculiar type, found at a depth of 120 cms. If an artifact, perhaps a polishing stone. No. 38.5.48, of 8 cm. length, is a stone artifact of similar type, in the catalogue described as a pestle, which is doubtful. |
| 47.48.98-99. | — | Bits of stone. Found together at the same depth as No. 97. No. 98 is probably a scraper (cf. Cat. No. 38.5.50 of the same type). |
| 47.48.100. | 22 <i>f</i> | Very weathered grotesque head on a shoulder fragment of a tripod vessel of Alligator ware. |
| 47.48.101. | 22 <i>e</i> | Border fragment of a vase with part of scroll ornamentation and between this and the rim a relief band imitating a twisted cord (cf. Holmes, 1888, p. 103-104). This fragment is of a very dark, nearly black ware, which also applies to the free fragment No. 131 with similar ornamentation but found at quite another place (see fig. 27 <i>f</i>). |
| 47.48.102. | 22 <i>h</i> | Fragment of a vessel with armadillo ornamentation. |
| 47.48.103. | — | Fragment of zoomorphic ornamentation on a vessel of Armadillo ware. |
| 47.48.104-105. | 23 | Fragments of the bodies of two vessels of very thick coarse dark ware, outside striated. Cf. No. 23 and text on page 158. Nos. 104 and 105 were found near each other at the depth of 180 cms. below the surface. |

The last section to be excavated of this grave (fig. 13 *D*) was to the southwest. Here were also several *tapa* stones, among them three big ones (see fig. 24). The section, however, yielded only few fragments, or:

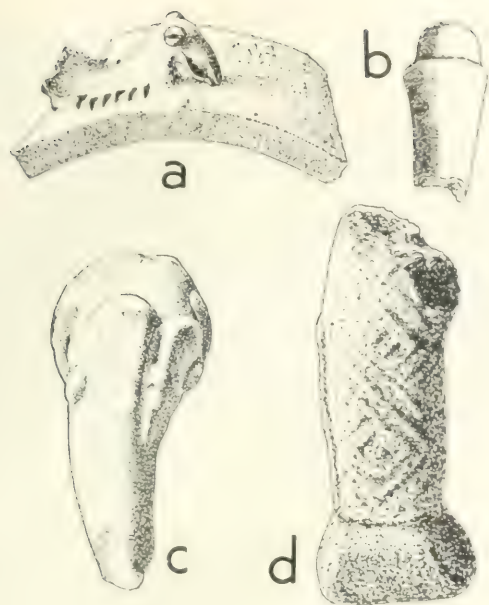


Fig. 25 Fragments found in Grave II, section D. a, b, c 1:2, d 1:3.

Cat. No. Figure

- | | | |
|------------|------|---|
| 47.48.106. | 25 a | Fragment of a handle with ornamentation of a long-beaked bird. |
| 47.48.107. | 25 b | Part of a support of a tripod vessel. One here observes a clay core in the support (cf. No. 88, p. 173). |
| 47.48.108. | 25 c | Solid support of a tripod vessel. Zoomorphic (fish) motive. The support is very primitively made. |
| 47.48.109. | — | Pottery fragment. Base of a solid support of a broad type. |
| 47.48.110. | — | Base of a support of the bulbous type, Armadillo group. |
| 47.48.111. | — | Border fragment of a little bowl with small handle. Outer surface with a polished gray slip, inner surface painted red. Mark of a support. |
| 47.48.112. | 25 d | Fragment of stone. Sculptured left hind leg of stone table or jaguar metate (cf., e.g., MacCurdy, 1911, pl. III b). This fragment, the only one of its kind found during the excavation, lay at a depth of 70 cms. below the surface. The material is a volcanic rock, probably andesitic lava. |

Since Grave II was limited to the south of the hole mentioned before and there were stones from a previous digging in the way, the excavation was interrupted here. Even if all details, due to the

difficulty of the work, have not been fully observed or noted, I hope however, that this description treating at least a number of vessels found *in situ* and connected with a grave of rectangular type constructed with *tapa* covering stones, may be of some value for further investigations in Chiriqui.

Grave III

A common way of locating a *tapa* and thus perhaps an intact grave in Boquete is simply to force the blade of a *machete* through the earth (cf. Holmes, 1888, p. 16). If it strikes a stone, it is immediately noticed. In this simple way a little grave was located by us 80 meters to the south of the Caldera River and north of "Tres Chivos", where the terrain, as everywhere in this region, bears witness of diligent guaca hunting. The grave now found was of the following construction:

- 1) Three ordinary *tapas* covering each other, the upper only 25 cms. below the surface.
- 2) A little *tapa* directly below the three bigger ones.
- 3) A big *tapa* 50 cms. below the surface. The undermost stone was leaning a little and at the edge of it the handsome vase 47.48.115 (fig. 26) was lying on its side with the opening turned south. No other finds were made here, and no other demarcation of this grave could be observed.

The vessel in fig. 26 is of a typical, very thin Alligator ware, here locally called *urabá* with modeled armadillo heads and fragile rims. In one of the shoulder ornaments there is a rattling pellet. Half of the bottom of the vessel is blackened by fire.

The word *urabá* is probably not derived from the similar geographical name. In the languages of Chibcha stock there exists a word element (*ulu*) applicable to "hollow objects" in general. In Kággaba it still means 'pot' and according to Pinart the same word (*uru*) is used in Chocó, probably (if correct) derived from an early form of Cuna. Supposing that this word with a slightly different determination (*ura*) existed in some languages in Chiriqui, the form *ura-ba* (with a collective suffix) would probably mean 'pottery.' Possibly, the last part of the word *mur-ura*,¹⁾ *miúc-ura*²⁾ 'large earthen pot, used for

¹⁾ Vadillo, 1884 (1537), p. 372, .. "--- en que cada un buhio tenian gran número de *mururas*, que son mayores que cántaros, ---."

²⁾ Friederici, 1947, p. 435.

preparing chibcha,' is the same (this word used by the Carib of the Continent and the Chibcha).

It is in this connection of interest to note that Vazquez de Coronado in his letter of May 4, 1563, to licenciado Landecho in an enumeration of 13 villages "aguas vertientes al Norte, en montaña, sin palenques," mentions one called *Urabaru*¹⁾, which may have been situated near the Atlantic Ocean on present-day Costa Rican territory. According to the linguist Nils M. Holmer,²⁾ the village name may have had the meaning of "place of pottery," *ru* being a local element, 'place'(?).

An excellent sample of the above-mentioned classical Chiriqui pottery type with rattling armadillo heads and conventionalized feet as shoulder ornaments is a vessel (47.42.1)³⁾ given to me in Alto Lino, Boquete, by a man who had himself found it by excavating it in Portrerillos. Another, not quite so good, specimen was received from "La Lerida" (Mr. Mönniche's gift). This vessel (47.36.2, 14 cms. high) is now considerably weathered but parts of the surface still show a very fine polish. The adorno consists of simplified armadillo heads.



Fig. 26. Vessel No. 47.48.115 from Grave III. H. 19 cms.

¹⁾ *Juan Vazquez de Coronado, 1883 (1563), p. 239.* He adds that "la tierra es mucha, muy poblada, riquísima, y según lo que los yndios dicen, ay en ella mas que sesenta mill hombres."

²⁾ Letter of May 18, 1940.

³⁾ See Wassén, 1949, fig. 5 a

MISCELLANEOUS FINDS FROM THE VICINITY OF "TRES CHIVOS," BOQUETE

<i>Cat. No.</i>	<i>Figure</i>	
47.48.116	27 a	Fragmentary support of a tripod vessel. This support was found on a path south of R. Caldera. Close to it was a hole in the ground from a previous digging. The fragment had perhaps been found in the earth at that place and then been thrown away.
47.48.117.	27 d	The edge of a broken stone axe found when testing for graves in the terrain south of Grave II described in this paper.
47.48.118.	27 c	Fragment of hardbaked clay, probably a piece of a muller (Span. <i>mano de moler</i>). Surface find when testing near the place for the find described here as Grave III. Near this place a pottery handle (47.48.119) was also found.
47.48.131	27 f	Fragment of a vessel with scroll and twisted cord ornamentation which reminds one of a similar ornamentation (Octopus motive) ¹⁾ used in Chiriquian metal work (cf. No. 101). The fragment which is of a very dark, nearly black, ware was found together with Nos. 132-134 north of "Tres Chivos" in a place where previous excavation had taken place. No. 132 (fig. 27 b) is a part of a solid foot of the heavy construction used for instance in the tripod vessel 38.5.18 of the Scarified Maroon group (fig. 28) bought in Puerto Armuelles, Chiriqui (cf. Osgood, 1935, pl. 7 f).
47.48.133 134.	27 h, i	Pottery supports of solid ware. Found at a place where previous excavations had taken place.
47.48.135-136.	27 g, e	No. 135 is the upper perfectly shaped fragmentary part of a vessel of handled ware. On the shoulder a red linear decoration on a yellow slip is seen. The plastic decoration on the paired handles refers to the armadillo motive (Cf. MacCurdy, 1911, pl. XIII). This piece which must represent a vase of quite considerable size was found during a test excavation in a hole left by guaca hunters

¹⁾ See MacCurdy 1913.

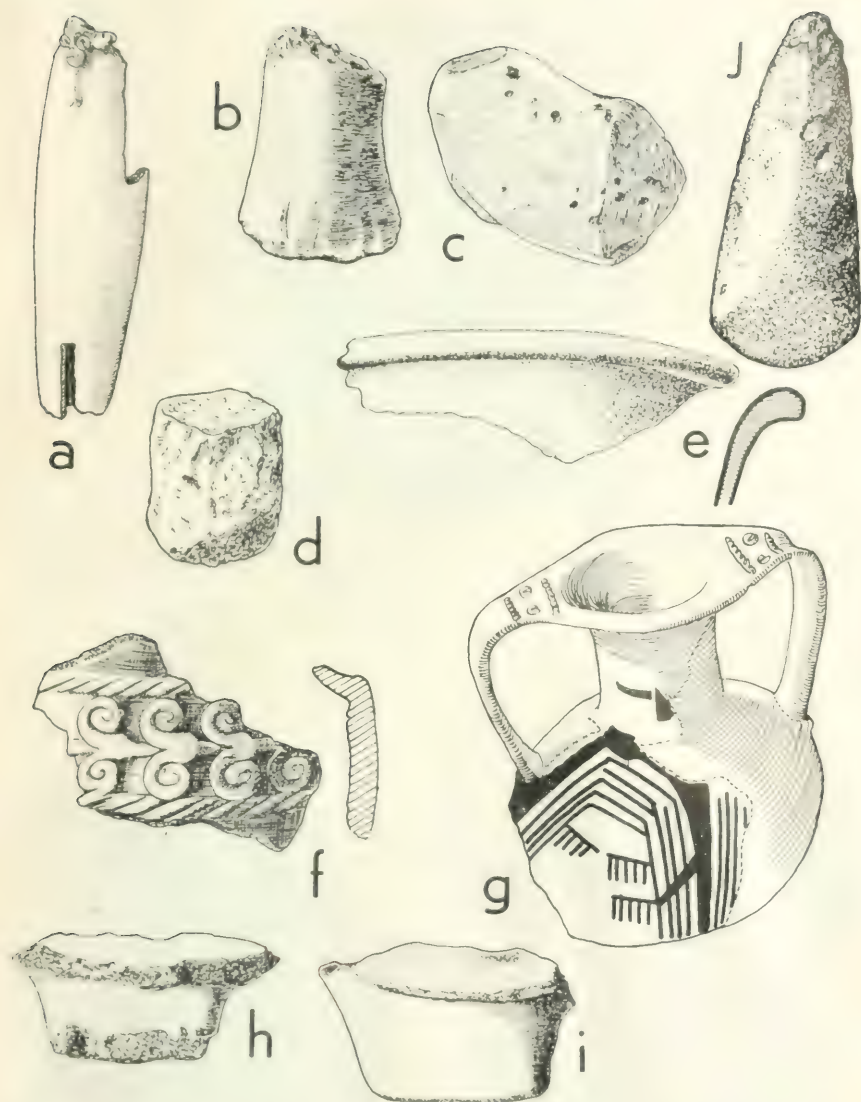


Fig. 27. Miscellaneous finds from Boquete: *b*, *k*, *i* and *j* 1; *a*, *g* and *h* 2; *c* ca. 1; *d*, *e* ca. 100.



Fig. 28. Tripod vessel of the Scarified Maroon group. Cat. No. 38.5.18. H. 23.5 cms.



Fig. 29. Vessels from Boquete. *A*, 38.5.33, diam. of flat bottom 20 cms. See p. 146;
B, 47.35.3, h. 11 cms. See p. 181.

<i>Car. No.</i>	<i>Figure</i>	
		north of "Tres Chivos" (next to a path leading to R. Caldera). The fragment was found in the earth at a depth of 25-35 cms. below the surface. At the same place the border fragment 47.48.136 (fig. 27 <i>e</i>) was also found. Probably the guaca hunters here located some complete vessels but spoiling them when digging, threw away the other sherds.
47.34.1.	27 <i>j</i>	Celt, polished on both sides, but chipping not entirely removed (cf. MacCurdy, 1911, pl. II <i>h</i>). This celt was given to me by a friend who stated that it was found in Boquete.
47.35.3.	29 <i>b</i>	A painted vessel from Boquete given to me by my friend Mr. T. Skogsberg of David. It has a thick out-curved rim and around the middle of the body a decoration consisting of round flattened nodes. In the illustrations by Holmes and MacCurdy there seems to be no vessel like this, but the node decorating may be seen in, for instance, MacCurdy, 1911, pl. XIX <i>d</i> . The circular node or dot decoration is observed also in vessels of the so-called red-lip ware from Costa Rica (see Lothrop, 1926, fig. 217, p. 328). As a matter of fact, the appliqué dot decoration is extensively observed on Costa Rican "Curridabat ware" (Lothrop, 1926, p. 332, sqq.). As has been pointed out by Lothrop (p. 334), it is Hartman who 'has shown that the majority of the motives are derived from the alligator scale which is represented by a small nodule of clay.' ¹) Lothrop also states that "this method of delineating the alligator extends along the western coast of South America."

¹) See Hartman, 1907, for instance pl. XX: 6. A high vase from Zapatera, Lake of Nicaragua, published by Bernadinus 1886, pl. 34 *c*, is all over 'elegantly adorned with small knobs of clay attached to the surface.'

FINDS FROM FINCA "LA LERIDA" AND FINCA "SUAREZ," BCQUETE

Of the collection presented by Mr. and Mrs. T. B. Mönniche a description has already been given of Nos. 47.36.2 and 7 (p. 177 and 158). The other specimens received here and originally found during excavations and work close to the *finca* were the following:

<i>Cat. No.</i>	<i>Figure</i>	
47.36.1.	30 c	Tripod bowl with hollow rattling supports. Highly polished, very fine Alligator ware.
47.36.3.	30 b	Vase of comparatively thick ware with zoomorphic handles (one missing) serving as shoulder ornaments. The vase has a simple decoration of irregular black streaks on a brown reddish ground and is partly fire-blackened.
47.36.4.	31 b	Vase of unpainted handled ware. The paired handles have each a decoration consisting of a crude human figure. Lower part and flat bottom of the pot are fire-blackened.
47.36.5.	30 a	Bowl with incurved rim. Armadillo ware with shoulder ornaments. Lower part of the vessel fire-blackened.
47.36.6.	31 a	Primitively finished pot of a dark and comparatively thick ware. Handles (one missing) of the same type as in No. 47.36.4, badly modelled.
47.36.8.	31 g	Handle with figure of monkey or man.
47.36.9.	—	Celt of dark stone, probably diabase. The celt is similar to the type described by MacCurdy (1911, pl. II f) as typical with distinct demarcation between the pecked and the polished facets. Length 11 cms.
47.36.10.	31 c	Celt, length 12 cms., all facets highly polished.
47.36.11-13.	31 d-f	Spear- and arrow-points. No. 11 (length 13.8 cms.) is made of diabase with porphyritic quartz, No. 12 (length 11.5 cms.) of diabase and No. 13 (length 6 cms.) of a black rock, probably the same kind as MacCurdy (p. 22) denominates "velvet-black flinty quartz resembling basanite."

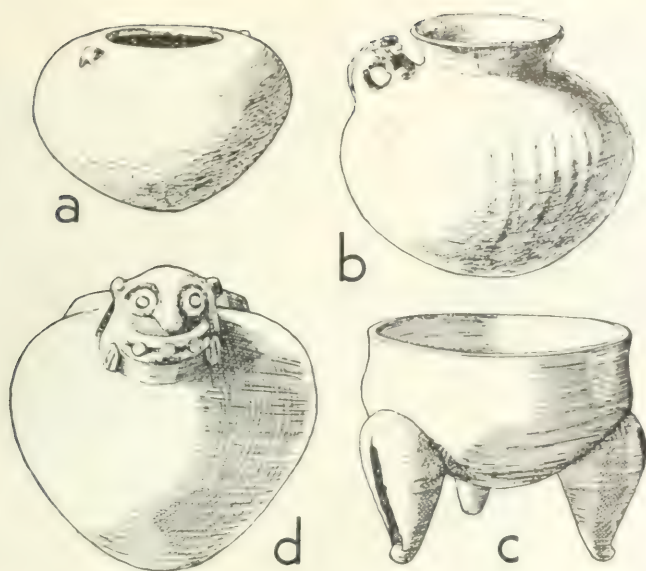


Fig. 30. Pottery from Boquete. *a*, 47.36.5, *b*, 47.36.3, and *c* 47.36.1 from finca "La Lerida," 1: 4. See p. 182. *d*, 38.5.28 (see p. 170) from "Tres Chivos," 1: 2.

The Mönniches had in their possession a very interesting tripod vessel, of which I could take the photograph shown in fig. 32. The supports are in human form, the figure having the legs and part of the body crossed with appliqué ribbons of clay. Mr. Mönniche considered this vessel very rare, and it is probably a product of trade in Boquete. The ornamentation resembles that one on the legs of a tripod vessel from Costa Rica published by d'Harcourt (1948, fig. 85). Whether the appliqué ribbons on the legs in fig. 32 are details of the man's dress or mere ornaments, I cannot say, but something similar can also be noted on the legs of the figure on a tripod vessel from Las Mercedes, Costa Rica, published by Lothrop (1926, pl. CLXXVI *a*).

During two visits to the Mönniches I was invited to try to locate some graves on a terrain belonging to a neighbor, one Mr. Suarez, where several interesting finds had been made earlier, according to what I was told. The invitation was accepted, but as we were working in a terrain used for growing coffee, I naturally had to restrict the research to places where no harm could be done to the growing coffee trees. Six attempts were made, according to the following:

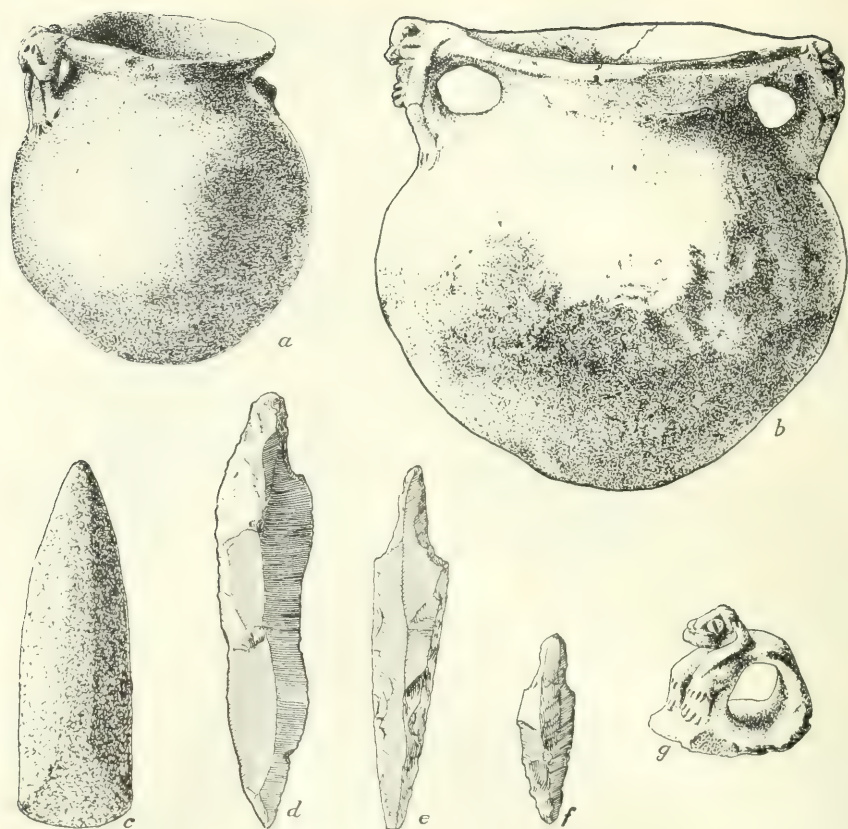


Fig. 31. Objects from "La Lerida," Boquete. *a*, 47.36.6, h. 10 cms.; *b*, 47.36.4, h. 15 cms.; *c*, 47.36.10, l. 12 cms.; *d*, *e* and *f*, 47.36.11, l. 13.8 cms, 12, l. 11.5 cms., and 13, l. 6 cms.; *g*, 47.36.8, h. 4.5 cms. See p. 182.

1) Below a *tapa*, on a depth of 30 cms., a fragment of a dish (47.48.120) with red interior decoration on a yellow ground color was found together with the fragments Nos. 121 and 122, a solid foot and a little fragment with punctured holes (fig. 33 *a-c*). A total of nine *tapas* was found here but no more fragments.

2) A *tapa*, size 32 × 52 cms., was found at a depth of 45 cms., but no finds at all could be observed.

3) A broken bulbous foot (47.48.123) and an armadillo head (No. 124), used as a shoulder decoration of the common type of tripod vessels, were



Fig. 32. Tripod vessel, coll. Mönniche, Boquete.
Cf. p. 183.

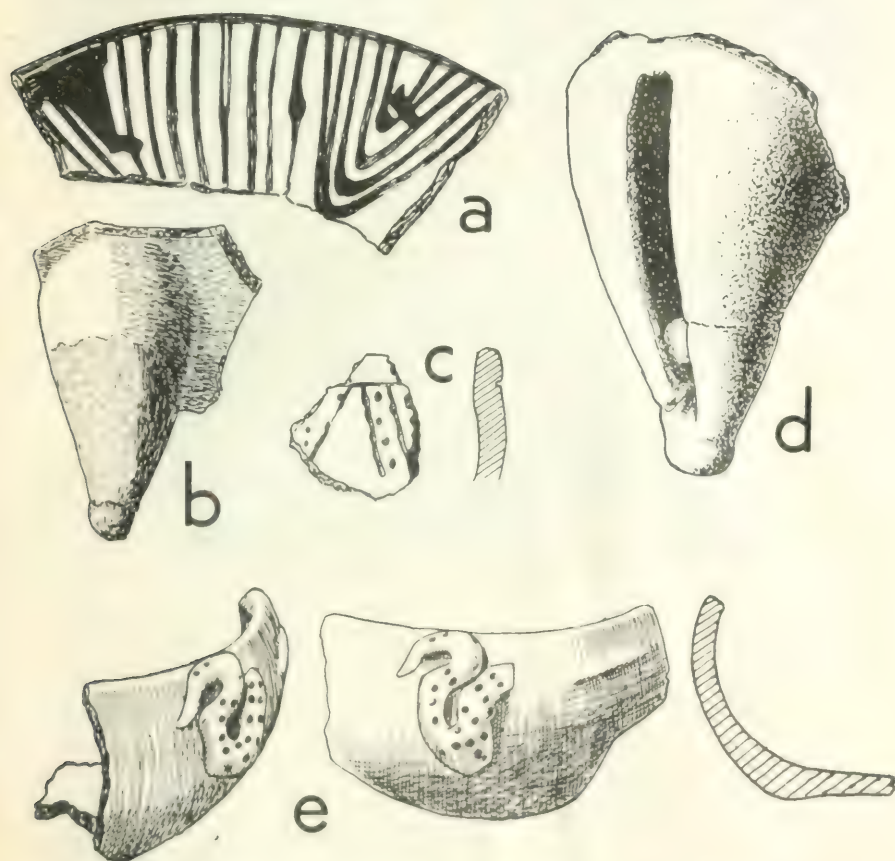


Fig. 33. Fragments found at *finca "Suroz,"* Boquete. *a*, 47.48.120, ca. 1.3; *b*, 47.48.121, *c*, 47.48.122 and *e*, 47.48.125, ca. 2; 3; *d*, 47.48.128, h. 14.5 cms.



Fig. 34. Typical *tapa* covering stones from test excavations at *finca* "Suarez," Boquete.

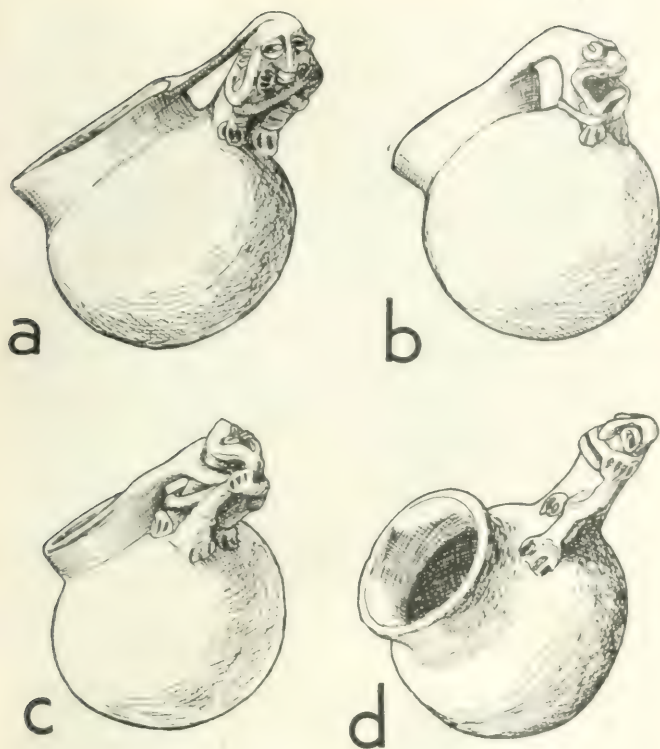


Fig. 35. Small cups found at "Tres Chivos," Boquete. *a-d*, 38.5, 39, 39, 21.5.
See p. 149.

found below a *tapa* stone at a depth of only 10 cms. Probably fragments thrown together here with the covering stone from a previous excavation near by.

4) One of the *peón* helpers, trying to locate *tapas*, found the fragment (47.48.125, fig. 33 *c*) of a clay bowl with outer snake ornamentation.

5) A big *tapa* was located and the *guaca* "was going *por abajo* (downwards)" (was of a vertical type, which is considered a good omen by the *guaca* hunters. We however found only two potsherds (47.48.126-127) without any special interest.

6) A *tapa* was located from 20 to 30 cms. below the surface, but no finds were made, except a very big bulbous support (the biggest



Fig. 36. Arrow points found together in a grave at "Tres Chivos," Boquete. *a*, 38.5.55 (l. 4 cms.), *b*, 38.5.57 (l. 4.5 cms.), *c*, 38.5.56 (l. 4 cms.), *d*, 38.5.53 (l. 4 cms.) and *e*, 38.5.54 (l. 4.5 cms.). See p. 147.



Fig. 37. Handle, 38.5.41, h. 8.5 cms. "Tres Chivos," Boquete. See p. 147.

one I saw in Chiriquí and two other fragments (Nos. 129-130). The hollow foot (47.48.128, fig. 33 *d*) has one rattling pellet.

As noted above, the trials at *finca* Suarez gave no results as to whole vessels or other objects of special archaeological interest, but the observations made allow the conclusion that there is no local difference in the common type of sherds found here and those around "Tres Chivos." This confirms the data given by Mr. Mönniche as to the similarity in type of pottery-yielding graves located by him at "La Lerida" and those located by me at "Tres Chivos."

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